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# CREATING NEW WORDS IN GAMILARAAAY AND YUWAALARAAY

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## Declaration

The work presented in this thesis is,  
to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except  
as acknowledged in the text.

I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material,  
either in whole or in part, for a degree at this  
or any other university.

## Acknowledgements

This thesis grew out of my work in Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay language revival. That work has depended on many people and I thank them.

Uncle Ted Fields introduced me to Yuwaalaraay and shared with me the passion that he and others have for their language. The Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay informants and those who recorded them have provided much of the material used in the revival work on these languages. In particular I have worked with the tapes of Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece and Corinne Williams' *Grammar of Yuwaalaraay* (1980). Peter Austin's dictionaries provided a good introduction to this group of languages and to current orthography.

This thesis has benefited from working with the many people involved in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay programs. It has often been while working with them on school programs or songs or speeches that the need for new words has become obvious.

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## **Preface and abstract**

This work aims to develop strategies for forming new words in Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay, two languages from the north of New South Wales. It makes the premise that appropriate new words are formed according to three principles. Firstly the final decision about the adoption of proposed new words rests with Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay people. Secondly new words should be formed in the way traditional Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay formed new words. The third principle is to acknowledge that Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay (henceforth GY) are reviving languages in a situation where English is dominant.

The first principle is discussed in 2.3 and has been used when new words have been adopted recently as part of GY revival. The main conclusions relating to the third principle are that borrowing from English is not a recommended strategy and that compounding and derivational word formation strategies are recommended because they produce words which are easier to learn.

The second principle is the main focus of this work. Because there are no fluent GY speakers the grammar of GY word production has to be redeveloped. This involves both a review of historical sources and development of new grammar.

The need for new words arises in the context of language revival, where new words are needed to talk about everyday concepts. The term ‘new word’ can be used in a number of ways. It can refer to a word rediscovered in the GY sources. It can mean a word created by derivational processes, but with predictable meaning. However in the context of this thesis ‘new word’ is normally used to refer to a consciously constructed word whose meaning is not recoverable from its component parts. Such a word has ‘idiosyncratic meaning’ in contrast to the ‘predictable meaning’ of many derivations.

## **Sources of information about GY word production**

One source of information about GY word production is existing published GY grammatical material. This has a quite limited amount on word production processes such as nominalization. Word formation was not a main focus in previous grammatical work.

A second source of word formation knowledge is the primary GY sources, including recently completed tape transcripts. Much of this thesis consists of examination of these sources. As a result a number of new word forming morphemes have been described. These include suffixes and bound morphemes found in compound words.

A third source of information is languages closely related to GY. Much use is made of Donaldson's *Grammar of Wangaaybuwan* (1980). It provides a starting point for the examination of much GY material.

Other sources which provide some material include general works on lexical derivation, other grammars of Australian languages and material on word production in other languages which are being revived, such as Maori.

### **Approaches adopted in the thesis**

The thesis makes a number of assumptions about word production grammar. One is that there is considerable information still to be found from the original sources. Another is that much can be learnt from a study of related languages, in particular the closely related 'no-having' languages (see 1.1.2.1). Another assumption is that for GY language revival to continue a 'new GY' grammar needs to develop.

This thesis is, in a very limited way, programmatic, pointing out some areas for further investigation in GY (see e.g. 4.2.4) and in related languages.

Knowledge about language can be in a codified form, in the rules and paradigms typical of published grammars. It can also be in instinctive form. This second is the knowledge that all fluent speakers have. The thesis, as well as listing a number of rules and morphemes, often gives many examples of them. This is to help develop a 'feel' for the language, some of the instinctual knowledge of the language.

The thesis also gives many examples of potential new words. When it does that the aim is generally not to propose a particular word, but rather to illustrate a process. In fact often a

number of meanings is given for new words, and a number of new words are available to translate any given English word.

## **Summary**

Chapter One provides background information. It begins with information about the languages, the GY people, and recent language revival efforts. A summary of GY grammar follows. The last section is a discussion of the information that is available about GY word formation, firstly in published grammars and then in original sources, especially the tapes.

Chapter Two discusses principles for the formation of new GY words and the roles of the language owners and linguists in the formation and adoption of the words.

Chapters Three to Five consider the main word formation strategies in detail. These are mainly derivational processes.

Chapter Three is about the development of new verbs. It contains a section on Wangaaybuwan verb morphology since that has lead to increased understanding of GY verbs. The main strategy recommended for forming new verb stems is a specialized type of compounding (for other types of compounding see chapter five). This involves analysing many existing verbs as historical compounds and the description of a number of morphemes found in these compounds. These morphemes can then be used for forming new verb stems.

Chapter Four considers strategies for the formation of new nominals. The first strategy is suffixation of existing nominals. New nominals can be formed with previously defined suffixes, newly defined suffixes and suffixes that can be borrowed from Wangaaybuwan. The second nominal-formation strategy considered is reduplication, which is quite common in GY. The third strategy is nominalisation of verbs. This can be used but is problematic since there are relatively few examples in the corpus. As well some verb ‘nominalising’ processes result in words whose syntax is not that of a simple nominal.



Chapter Five considers other word formation strategies. The first of these is compounding other than the specialized verb compounding considered in Chapter three. The second is borrowing, and then a number of minor word formation strategies are considered. Compounding, and borrowing from Australian languages can be major sources of new words.

Chapter Six summarizes the word formation strategies recommended.

Appendix 1 is a list of Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay compound words.

Appendix 2 is a list of reduplicated roots found in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay.

Appendix 3 is a list of Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay borrowings from English.

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## **Abbreviations and conventions**

### **Names (languages, people, other)**

GY	Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay
GM	Gamilaraay
YW	Yuwaalaraay
YY	Yuwaalayaay
WB	Wangaaybuwan
Eng.	English
JM	Janet Mathews
AD	Arthur Dodd
FR	Fred Reece
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies

### **Grammatical abbreviations**

Abs	absolutive
Erg	ergative
C	consonant
Circ	circumstantial
CM	class/conjugation marker (for the verb classes: l, y, ng and rr)
Colloq	colloquialy
Cont	continuous aspect (see 1.2.3.6)
Int	intransitive
Inst	instrumental
Loc	locative
Nom	nominal
Poss	possibly
Pres	present tense
Recip	reciprocal
Reg	regular aspect (see 1.2.3.6)
Tr	transitive
V	vowel

### **Grammatical abbreviations for Wangaaybuwan**

Where material from Donaldson (1980) has been used I have retained her conventions in glosses and they use the following abbreviations.

1	first person
3	third person
ABS	absolutive
EVEN	‘to get evens’
ERG	ergative
INST	instrumental
INTR	intransitiviser
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative

NAME	name marker
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
PRES	present
VIS	‘visible to the speaker’

## Other conventions and abbreviations

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| Tape | A number of references are made to tapes of Arthur Dodd, Fred Reece and others. These tapes are held by AIATSIS and they are referred to by their AIATSIS number.  |
| ?    | A question mark in front of a gloss or other information means there is some uncertainty about its accuracy.   |
| *    | This is at times used in the more conventional way to indicate an error or ungrammatical example, but is generally used here to indicate a potential coined word. These words are at times suggested for use in GY but often are given to illustrate a process rather than as candidates for adoption into GY. |

A capital letter, or a pair of capitals, at the beginning of a morpheme indicate that there are a number of allophones of the morpheme. For instance *-DHalibaa* can be realised as *-dhalibaa*, *-djalibaa* or as *-dalibaa*.

Donaldson also uses root final –N- to indicate that a homorganic nasal appears between the absolutive form of the word and the suffixed form and I have retained that convention in Wangaaybuwan quotes. The examples below show the homorganic nasals:

<u>Wangaaybuwan word</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>giiN-</i>	citation form,	'heart'
<i>gii</i>	absolutive form	'heart'
<i>gii-ng-gu</i>	'heart+ dative'	'of the heart'
<i>gii-m-buwan</i>	'heart+ comitative'.	'having a heart'

### Example sentences

Example sentences used are often taken from tape transcripts. They can contain up to five lines as in the constructed example (0-1) below.

- (0-1) He's a good boy. (a)  
*gaba nhama birralii-djuul* (b)  
 good that child-little (c)  
 The baby is good. (d)  
 "He's a good kid." (e)

Line (a) is the prompt given by the recorder for the informant to translate.

Line (b) is a transcription of the GY response with the morphemes separated by a hyphen.

Line (c) is a morpheme by morpheme gloss of the GY.

Line (d) is a free translation of the GY.

Line (e) is the translation provided by the informant, and is in double inverted commas “”.

If line (d) and (e) are the same, line (d) is omitted. If the sentence is not from an elicitation there is no line (a). If the informant did not give a translation there is no line (e).

Glosses of syntactic material, such as 'Past' in (0-2) begin with a capital letter.

- (0-2) *gaba nhama birralii-djuul dhuu-nhi* (b)

good that    child-little    crawl-Past  
The baby crawled.

# **1 Background to Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay Revival**

The Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay language group covers a large area of northern New South Wales. There are no fluent speakers, just a few older people who have perhaps a few hundred words and no syntax and some younger people who know much less. In recent years there have been community attempts at language revival. This revival has been supported by a variety of written materials produced by linguists and others. The efforts at language revival are increasing and as they do the need for new words arises in a number of contexts. My aim in this thesis is to give soundly based processes for the production of new words in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay.

This chapter provides some background about Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay and its revival and outlines the approach adopted in the rest of the thesis. Section 1.1 gives some further information about Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay (henceforth GY) and related languages, looks at the effects of colonisation, details recent GY language revival programs and looks at some of the main influences on language revival. Section 1.2 includes an overview of the published grammar. In section 1.3 I compare the relative usefulness for word creation of published grammar and other GY material.

## **1.1 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay and related languages**

### **1.1.1 The Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay area and languages**

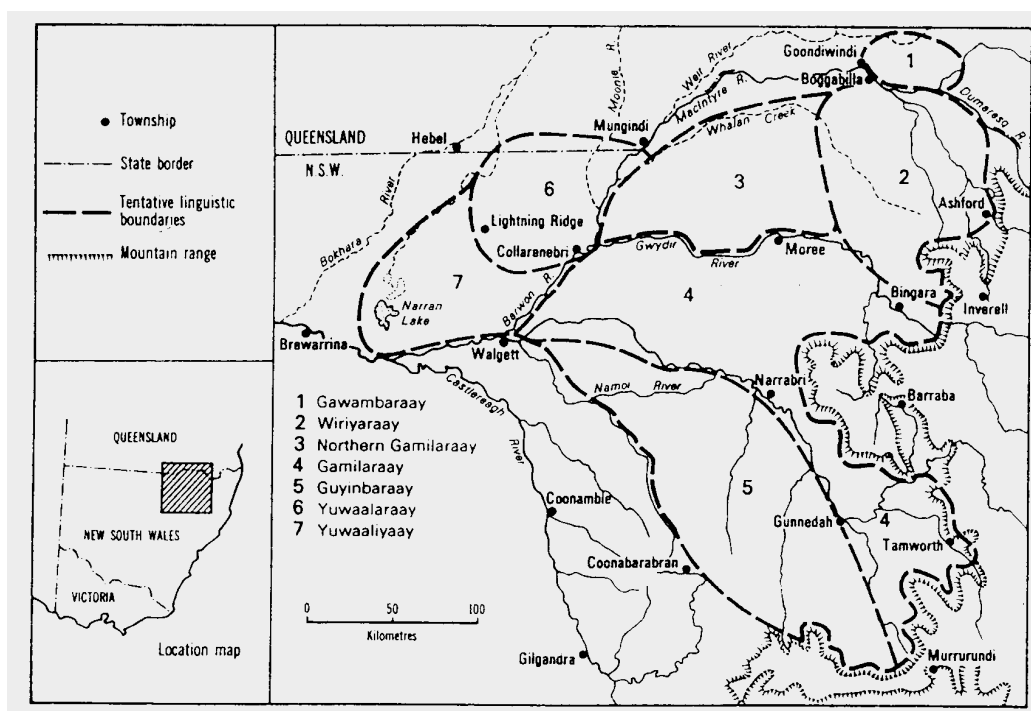
#### *1.1.1.1 Language names and areas*

The names of the languages come from the word for ‘no’ and the comitative/‘having’ suffix, so *Gamil-araay* and *Yuwaal-araay* are both literally ‘no-having’. The Yuwaalaraay word for ‘no’ has subsequently changed to *waal*, but this has not been reflected in the language name. A number of related languages whose names are formed in the same way will be discussed later. There are numerous variations in the spellings of these language and nation names. *Gamilaraay* is also commonly written ‘Kamilaroi’ and ‘Gamilaroi’. These latter forms are used in the names of many organisations and for the ‘Kamilaroi Highway’. There are few public uses of alternatives for *Yuwaalaraay* but the spelling ‘Ularoi’ is known. Williams (1980:3) lists some other variants. Because the forms Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay have been used for linguistic material which has been published recently, I will also use these forms.

Before proceeding it is important to clarify how these language names will be used. Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay are distinct but closely related languages. Yuwaalaraay has two recognised dialects, one of which is also called Yuwaalaraay. The other is variously known as Yuwaaliyaay or Yuwaalayaay. Williams (1980:2) (and therefore Austin, Williams and Wurm (1980)) uses Yuwaaliyaay because Fred Reece, an important recent informant, used that pronunciation. However all other references to the dialect are to Yuwaalayaay (cf Williams 1980:2 and Sim (1999)) so I use Yuwaalayaay. Following the current practice of Aboriginal people from the Yuwaalaraay - Yuwaalayaay area and Williams (1980:1) the distinction between the two dialects is generally not maintained and the name Yuwaalaraay (henceforth YW) is used to refer to the combined area and language.

Gamilaraay (henceforth GM) has a number of dialects (see Austin et al, 1980:168) including Wirrayaraay (*wirray* – ‘no’), Gawambaraay (*gawam* – ‘no’), Guyinbaraay (*guyin* – ‘no’) and others but information about these is very limited so GM will be treated as a single, undifferentiated language.

Map 1: The Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay Area  
(From Austin, Williams and Wurm (1980:167))



Map 1 shows the general Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay area. Austin et al (1980:168-169) acknowledge the very limited information the map is based on. Much remains uncertain, including details of boundaries with neighbouring languages, the internal divisions and even the number of dialects.

There are few sources and for some their place and date of origin are unclear making it impossible to use them to separate dialects. One good example is Milson (no date), which was deposited by the collector's grandchild and gives no specific information as to when, where and from whom it was collected. Recent information raises questions about the map. Uncle Ted Fields has stated that there was a dialect called 'Gabalaraay' along the Barwon river north of Walgett. This is not shown on the map. Also Sim (1999:title) refers to 'Yuwaalayaay' as 'The language of the Narran River' indicating a different location for this language from that shown in Fig 1. (The Narran River flows into Narran Lake.) The amount of information available will never give a full picture, though it may be possible to fill in some of the current gaps in knowledge.

The extent of variation in language across the GY area has been variously understood. Both Horton (1994) and Tindale (1974) use 'Gamilaraay' as the one name for the whole GY area. These are tribal area maps rather than language maps. However in the absence of common maps which focus on languages these maps have been interpreted as showing language areas, leading some to assume that Yuwaalaraay is not a separate language. The historical sources make it clear that Yuwaalaraay was regarded by its speakers as a separate language.

#### *1.1.1.2 Variation in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay*

Austin et al (1980:172) also conclude that 'Gamilaraay, Yuwaaliyaay and Yuwaalaraay .. represent three dialect forms of a single language.' and that 'Syntactically the languages seem to be identical, although much more work in this area remains to be done.' I have worked on the assumption that there is one syntax for all of GY, but because GY people have maintained the distinction between Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay I have also adopted the position that they are separate languages. The closeness of the languages/dialects is illustrated by the high percentage of shared vocabulary shown in Table 1-1. It shows that Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaalayaay are particularly closely related.

Table 1-1: Shared basic GY vocabulary (from Austin et al, 1980:170)

Gamilaraay		
73%	Yuwaalaraay	
63%	80%	Yuwaalayaay

The close relationship between the languages is also shown by the fact that much of the variation in vocabulary is systematic and minor. This is illustrated by the systematic phonological changes between GM and YW which Austin et al list (1980:170ff). These include intervocalic /r/ in GM corresponding to intervocalic /y/ in YW when the preceding and following vowels are different. The /r/ corresponds to /ø/ when the vowels are the same and the GM word is disyllabic. Table 2-2 includes some examples of this variation.

Table 2-2: Gamilaraay – Yuwaalaraay cognates

English	Gamilaraay	Yuwaalaraay
‘hole’	<i>biruu</i>	<i>biyuu</i>
‘tooth’	<i>yira</i>	<i>yiya</i>
‘white cockatoo’	<i>muraay</i>	<i>muyaay</i>
‘dog’	<i>buruma</i>	<i>buyuma</i>
‘left hand’	<i>waragaal</i>	<i>wayagaal</i>
‘hand’	<i>mara</i>	<i>maa</i>
‘he/she’	<i>nguru</i>	<i>nguu</i>
‘language’	<i>garay</i>	<i>gaay</i>

The cognates *ngaru-gi* (GM) and *ngawu-gi* (YW) – ‘drink’ show that the changes are not always totally regular. This pair of cognates also raises the question as to whether the direction of derivation is always from GM to YW.

While some background information is important a detailed study of the many dialects and languages which make up GY is beyond the scope of this thesis.

#### 1.1.1.3 Information about the languages

There is considerable difference in the amount of information available about the two languages. The Yuwaalaraay area is to the west of the Gamilaraay area and substantially more language material has been collected there than in the much larger GM area. This was probably because the language survived longer in the YW area since European settlers arrived later and in smaller numbers to what was for a long time grazing land rather than cultivated farms. While the number of names recorded for GM dialects and the size of the



GM area indicate it had considerable linguistic variation very little of that has been recorded. For instance it has nothing comparable to the YW tapes of Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece.

In the absence of substantial community knowledge of the languages current language revival work has been based on historical material. In the first instance this has meant relying on readily available publications including Austin (1992, 1994), Williams (1980) and Giacon (1999). These have largely defined currently taught GY because they are the major sources of information. Since the only major source of syntactic information for GY is Corinne Williams' *Grammar of Yuwaalaraay* (1980) it has been used for both Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay. This process of revival has resulted in a degree of standardisation across the GY area although some variation in vocabulary is recognised. In particular there has been standardisation across the GM area, where once there was considerable variation.

In short a new GY is developing, based on the limited historical information that has been readily available. As historical sources are revisited some further information about traditional GY may become available. The new GY, while being as faithful as possible to traditional GY will also be different from it because of the paucity of information about traditional GY and the changes which are inevitable in language revival. One of the changes is a degree of standardisation and another is the new vocabulary that new GY will develop.

### **1.1.2 Languages neighbouring Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay**

One of the premises of this work is that the GY corpus, the material obtained from GY speakers, is a very impoverished record of the language. Another is that comparison of GY with related languages is a major tool in language rebuilding. Therefore any knowledge of related languages is a valuable resource. Section 1.1.2 firstly considers neighbouring languages in general and then the 'no-having' languages which are closely related to GY.

Austin et al (1980:172) look at the relationship between GY and neighbouring languages. The comparisons are based on the percentage of common vocabulary and on syntactical similarity. The lack of detailed material often means that careful comparisons cannot be

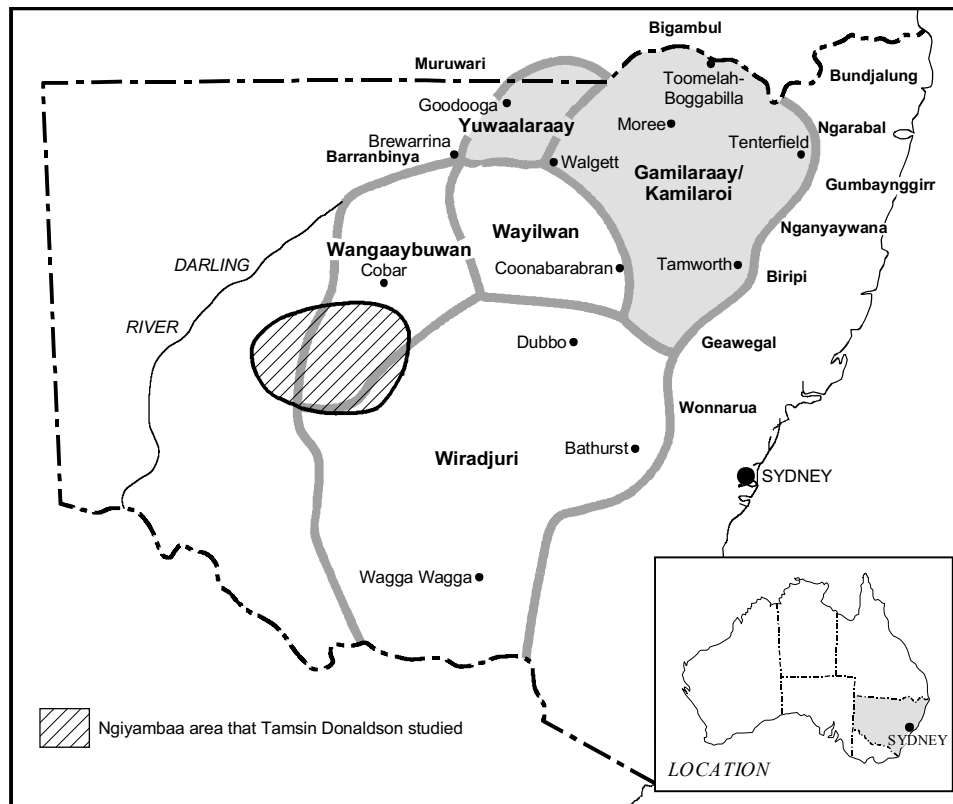
made. Muruwari is to the west of GY and has a published grammar (Oates 1988). Indications are that it is not closely related to GY, with less than 25% of the lexicon shared or cognates. To the north is Guwamu and the so-called Maric languages. Comparison of the Yuwaalayaay and Guwamu vocabulary in Sim (1999) does not indicate a close relationship and there is not enough material available to make a valid comparison of GY with any other languages of this group. Austin et al (1980:172) conclude that to the east the mountains formed a ‘linguistic as well as natural boundary’ between GY and languages such as Bigambal, Yugumbal (to the north-east of GM), Nganyaywana, Ngarbal and Wanarua (Wonnarua). Harvey (1979:59) on the other hand argues for a relationship between GY and Yugumbal (sic) and so with the languages to which it in turn is closely related. There is relatively little material available on these languages and whatever their relationship with GY, it is not as close as that between GY and Wangaaybuwan, Wiradjuri and Wayilwan to the south.

#### *1.1.2.1 The related ‘no-having’ languages*

It is widely accepted (Austin et al 1980:173f) that GY is closely related to Wangaaybuwan, Wiradjuri and Wayilwan to the south which also use ‘no-having’ as their language name. (The respective words for ‘no’ are: *wangaay*, *wirray* and *wayil*.) Before proceeding the names of the southern languages and the quality of information available about them will be discussed. These language areas are shown in map 2 (page 6).

There are four names for these closely related languages. Three names literally mean ‘no-having’: Wiradjuri, Wayilwan and Wangaaybuwan. The fourth, ‘Ngiyambaa’, is not formed in this way. It means ‘language’ (Donaldson 1980:4). The main source of confusion is the use of ‘Ngiyambaa’. At times it is used as if it denotes a separate language, but it is also used as an alternative name for Wayilwan and for Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson 1980:4). Tindale’s map (1974) shows four tribal groups with the same names as the four languages, while Horton (1994) shows three, omitting Ngiyambaa. I will assume Donaldson’s analysis of three languages, with Ngiyambaa as an alternative name for Wangaaybuwan and parts of Wayilwan. It is important to realise also that Donaldson’s grammar is based on the knowledge of people who lived in one part of the larger Wangaaybuwan area, so when Wangaaybuwan is used in the context of her work (and that is most of the time in this work) it actually refers to a sub-section of the language.

Map 2: The 'no-having' language group of central New South Wales  
and the languages neighbouring Gamilaraay – Yuwaalaraay  
(Adapted from Horton (1994))



This map shows:

- The Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay area (shaded)
- Related 'no-having' languages, Wayilwan, Wiradjuri and Wangaaybuwan
- Other languages neighbouring the Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay area

Making comparisons between languages requires that there is information available to base the comparisons on. For the languages being considered here the vast majority, if not all, of the information is in historical sources rather than in the knowledge of current speakers. The usefulness of that historical material depends on the quantity and quality of it and on whether grammars and wordlists have been produced so that the information is easily accessible.

There is great variation in the extent to which historical material has been processed and published. The Wayilwan/Ngiyambaa tapes of Arthur Dodd are relatively useless at present

since they have not been transcribed and no wordlist or grammatical description of their contents has been produced. Donaldson's Wangaaybuwan grammar is a marvelous source but unfortunately there is no comprehensive wordlist or dictionary available for that language and tape transcripts are in manuscript form and so difficult to access. For Wiradjuri there is a considerable amount of historical material with part of it analysed in the work of McNicol (1989) and perhaps 700 lexical roots in Hosking and McNicol (1993). These contain only a small part of what is available in the historical Wiradjuri sources such as Gunther (1892), Mathews (1904) and Hale (1846).

The situation is that only one of the related 'no-having' languages - Wangaaybuwan - has a published grammar. It has the raw material – tapes, unpublished transcripts and manuscripts - for much more information to be made readily available. Wiradjuri has considerable historical material and some brief recently published works. There is also some untranscribed tape material of Wayilwan/Ngiyambaa. If grammars and wordlists and tape transcriptions are produced there will be scope for much greater and easier comparison of these languages with GY. In particular it will be much easier to borrow and adapt words from them.

The evidence for the relationship between GY and the other nearby 'no-having' languages is based on their syntactic and lexical similarities. The lexical relationship is easier to quantify. Austin et al (1980:173) report that around 40% of GY has cognates in Wiradjuri and Wangaaybuwan and the percentage is higher in verbs. There are regular correspondence between cognates in GY and Wiradjuri. 'Word final /ng/ in Wiradjuri corresponds to word final /y/ in GY after the low vowel. (vowel length in Wiradjuri sources is not unambiguous). At other times word final /ng/ in Wiradjuri corresponds to word final /Ø/ in GY. (Austin et al 1980:173) These relationships are illustrated in Table 1-3.

Table 1-3: GY and Wiradjuri cognates

English	Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay	Wiradjuri
'this way'	<i>dhaay</i>	<i>dhang</i>
'skin'	<i>yulay</i>	<i>yulang</i>
'brolga'	<i>burranga</i>	<i>burrangang</i>
'thigh'	<i>dharra</i>	<i>dharrang</i>
'foot'	<i>dhina</i>	<i>dhinang</i>
'goanna'	<i>dhuli/dhuulii</i>	<i>dhuliny</i>
'fire'	<i>wii</i>	<i>winy</i>

Austin et al (1980:175) suggest that GY is derived from a proto Wiradjuri. Harvey (1979) also posits a proto-Wiradjuri and he suggests two sub-groups - proto Wangaaybuwan-Ngiyambaa and proto GY. He provides a list of evidence for the larger grouping and the subgroupings. In other words there is strong evidence that Wiradjuri and Wangaaybuwan are closely related and that GY is related to them, but less closely.

### **1.1.3 The Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay language sources**

Most of the information about GY currently available is in historical sources with speakers having only a relatively small number of GY words. Austin, in a draft, unpublished grammar, lists a large number of Gamilaraay sources, beginning with Mitchell (1839). Other major GM sources include Rev Ridley (1855 et al), Rev Greenaway (1877 onwards), R. H. Mathews (much published material from 1894 on) and more recently Stephen Wurm and Austin himself. Williams (1980:11ff) lists the Yuwaalaraay sources she used, the main ones being the tapes of Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece. Others major sources include the books of K. Langloh Parker, (1905 et al), many journal articles by R. H. Mathews, Sim (1999) and Stephen Wurm (unpublished notes). The GY notes of G. Laves (AIATSIS ms) are in Austin's list but had not been discovered when Williams did her work. It may be that further historical material will be found.

Some new material is still being collected. Over the last six years I have spent considerable time with Uncle Ted Fields of Walgett. He has been a driving force behind language revival and also knows more Yuwaalaraay than anyone else I have met. His knowledge is largely at the word level and over 1000 words have been collected. This has been done by getting Ted's comments on previously listed words, by asking for the equivalent of an English word, or Ted giving words he has remembered. He has added many previously unrecorded words although at times the exact form, word class and meaning is not certain. This is also the case with many of the historical sources.

The historical material becomes much more useful when it is collated and put into a uniform orthography even though there is a degree of interpretation and a risk of error in doing this. There are a number of wordlists in the original sources and some of the information from these is included in Austin's (1992, 1994) Gamilaraay dictionaries and in

Williams (1980) . Austin contains about 500 items and Williams about 1300. Since these are secondary sources they, to some extent, interpret the material in primary sources and are subject to revision in the light of further knowledge about GY. Austin does not list his sources but does not seem to have used all the major historical material. There is a GY dictionary in preparation which does incorporate much of the Austin and Williams material but also other material from primary and contemporary sources. It also modifies some of the entries in earlier wordlists.

As a major part of the lead up to this thesis I transcribed the tapes of Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece. The transcripts total about 500 pages and have been a source of new grammatical information and lexical items. Tape material, because it has not been filtered by the person recording, is a very rich source of syntactic, morphological and lexical information. Written material is limited by the knowledge of the writer and the time available. The transcripts themselves are interpretations and so to some extent depend on the knowledge and skill of the writer. However the influence of the writer is much greater when interpreting or summarising, for instance when formulating grammatical rules or giving ‘the meaning’ of a word. While transcripts interpret and filter material, grammars and wordlists do so much more because writers tend to see Aboriginal languages in terms of the European structures they are familiar with and so they can miss features which are more typical of Aboriginal languages.

In summary there is a considerable amount of knowledge of GY recorded, perhaps 1000 pages of written material, including 500 pages of tape transcript. Much of the syntactic and lexical information in this has been extracted and condensed in published grammars and wordlists. More will be discovered as people continue to work with the original material and also as they compare it with other related languages. Grammatical work is not a one step process but ongoing, with new generalisations and rules coming to light as material is revisited, looked at by new people or seen in the light of other related ideas.

#### **1.1.4 Contact History**

Something of the nature of pre-contact GY life can be seen in sources such as Langloh Parker (1905, 1953), the writing of R. H. Mathews and even in more recent works such as Sim (1999). The social structure of those societies, their relationship to the land and nature

and many other aspects of life were far different from those of the Europeans who arrived in numbers from the 1830's on, assuming that they now owned the land. Buckhorn (1997) and Millis (1992) give details of some of the violent clashes and the massacres of Gamilaraay people but the effects of the arrival of Europeans went far beyond these more obvious ones. There were many other deaths as a result of disease and massive social and personal dislocation as a result of the change in the way people lived.

The impact of the arrival of Europeans is shown in a comparison of the lives of the two key informants for Yuwaalaraay with those of their maternal grandparents. These grandparents of Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece lived traditional lives within a strong Aboriginal culture. The men were initiated, people married according to the Law, they knew the stories of the country and they lived on their own country. Fred and Arthur were both born in 1890 and their situation was very different. Both of them had non-Aboriginal fathers. Both grew up on pastoral properties where the land was controlled by Europeans – Fred Reece on Bangate and Arthur Dodd on Dungalear. Although Fred's mother was Muruwari he learnt Yuwaalayaay because that was the language at Bangate. Neither went through the Boorah, the initiation ceremony. For most of his adult life Fred Reece hardly ever spoke Yuwaalayaay (p.c. Ted Fields) and it seems likely that Arthur generally used Ngiyambaa rather than Yuwaalaraay, and most of Arthur's siblings did not learn much of any Aboriginal language at all.

There were many other differences from the days of their ancestors. The possums, bilbys and many other animals had disappeared from the country (Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece tapes). In later life Arthur lived on Gingie mission outside Walgett where the manager's house was built on a sacred site. The manager governed many aspects of life and Aboriginal people were banned from parts of Walgett, the nearby town. Children were generally discouraged from learning their language and could be punished for using it in school. Aboriginal people lost much of their strong culture, ownership of the land and independence.

The most important recent Yuwaalaraay informant is Uncle Ted Fields, born in 1931. His story shows the continuing pressure on GY language. He grew up on Angledool mission but at the age of six he and all the people at the mission were taken to Brewarrina, about

300 km away. This is Wayilwan country and at that time many Aboriginal groups from across NSW and south-west Queensland were taken to Brewarrina. After a short time Ted's father left Brewarrina and thereafter Ted had very limited opportunities to learn his language. The removal of people from their country continued, destroying much of what remained of their language, their social structure, their ability to determine their own lives and their knowledge of the traditional law and stories. Their relationship to one another and to the land had been tied into various totem and social class systems. All of this changed.

### **1.1.5 Recent Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay language revival**

This overview of recent language revival must necessarily be brief and cannot cover all the aspects of the revival or discuss the many relevant issues. It begins by looking at the actual formal programs and then looks at factors which influence the programs. It is worth noting that there is strong and growing support for language revival within the GY community. One reason for this growing support is that there are now materials available that people can readily use.

#### *1.1.5.1 Language revival programs*

Recent major developments in GY language revival began with the setting up of a number of programs in 1996 and 1997. The Yuwaalaraay program based at St Joseph's Primary School Walgett began in late 1996. The Goodooga Yuwaalaraay program, based at the Goodooga Central School and administered by Pulkurru (a Goodooga Aboriginal Corporation) began at the start of 1997. At about the same time the Toomelah-Boggabilla Gamilaraay Program began. The program there also works in schools and is formally linked with the local Aboriginal Land Council. These programs all involve full time language workers or teachers.

A number of subsequent school programs have part time language workers involved. These are at Walgett High School, Walgett Primary School and Coonabarabran High School. Currently Lightning Ridge Aboriginal people are preparing a program for use in the school there. For a number of years Walgett TAFE funded a number of short or part time programs in Gamilaraay – Yuwaalaraay.

In all cases the language teachers, whether Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal, obtain most of their knowledge of GY from written material, archival tapes, recently produced sound



material, courses and contact with the linguists working on the languages. However many GY people do have a number of words they use regularly and have heard some GY from their parents, grandparents and others.

In the Walgett/Goodooga/Lightning Ridge area one elder is funded to work part time in languages, there are three full time and around four part time Aboriginal language workers, a number of non-Aboriginal people who teach GY part time and myself as teacher/linguist. There are smaller numbers of people involved in other GY programs.

#### *1.1.5.2 Changes in the use of GY*

There has been a noticeable change in the use of GY and in attitudes to the languages. Many students are enthusiastic about learning their language and there has been an increasing awareness that some revival is possible and an increasing number of people wanting to be involved. There has been an increasing use of GY in public. Elders have given welcome speeches in GY as have students at a number of schools. GY songs have been sung at a number of public functions. A number of students and adults in Walgett have begun using ‘Yaama’ and other forms of greetings in public places. Some individuals and families are also relearning GY, generally using the published materials or materials obtained from school programs. In absolute terms these are small events but they are significant in showing a turnaround in what had previously been an ongoing decline in GY use. The slowly growing number of programs and the other aspects of GY revival show the strong desire the people have to learn and use their languages.

I will now consider the major factors in the development of the programs including the involvement of elders, the availability of grammars and wordlists, access to linguistic expertise and funding.

#### *1.1.5.3 Factors influencing Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay language revival*

Many factors are needed for revival of languages such as GY to continue. They include: the support of the GY community, particularly elders; the availability of historical language resources; the production of materials for new learners; cooperation between community and linguists and finally funding and a base for the programs.

The involvement of senior GY people in language revival is crucial. They authorise others to work in language, they are sources of information and also teach. For many years before the formal programs began Uncle Ted Fields was involved in trying to keep language alive. He had some involvement with schools but this was fairly unstructured. Recently he has been the key elder in the Walgett and Goodooga programs being actively involved in the programs and in gaining community support for them. He has also been an important source of knowledge about the local country, associated dreaming stories, flora and fauna and the history of the local Aboriginal people. He willingly shares this knowledge. Other elders are also involved in language, for instance Auntie Rose Fernando works in pre-schools and schools and with the NSW Board of Studies.

Recently produced resources have been a key element in the programs. While specialised knowledge is required to use older records the recently produced material is much more accessible. It includes dictionaries and wordlists (Austin 1992, 1994), the Gamilaraay web site, Giacon (1999), the High School Text (Giacon and Betts 1999), CDs produced as part of the school programs and unpublished notes. All of these have made initial access to GY material much easier. The written material is easily used to check pronunciation and grammar and to produce teaching resources. It is standardised, easily understood and something that people can use at their own pace. It contrasts with technically written linguistic material and with historical material that often contains variant forms and also with the now more limited and quite variable knowledge of elders and other community members.

The writing of songs, often to well known tunes, and making available CDs of these songs has been an important step in language teaching. Like the written material the songs provide a way for handing on some language even if the teacher has little knowledge of the language. They are greatly enjoyed by students. Examples include translations of 'Ears, eyes, hands and feet', 'Stand by me' and newly composed GY songs.

Nowadays the knowledge of elders is limited to individual words and there are many factors which make it difficult to use that knowledge. Most teachers lack the linguistic background to record the elders' knowledge in a consistent and systematic way. The funding arrangements often make it difficult to recompense elders for their work. It can be

difficult to find a time that suits both elders and learners. It is common for elders to disagree with one another and with well attested historical material. In most cases when teachers and elders have tried to teach GY the work has been aural, memory based, at irregular intervals, had no clear progression, and generally involved a great degree of frustration on everybody's part. This contrasts with the current programs, where elders are involved but the main work is done by others whom the elders have approved and the main sources of information are historical.

Linguistic expertise has been a key element in successful programs. The current GY orthography has been largely borrowed from Williams (1980) and Austin (1992,1994). It has the advantage of being a good orthography since it was developed by linguists with appropriate expertise. While some people initially find it unusual most soon recognise that it is a great help in pronunciation and is much better than other systems previously used. In particular young learners quickly accept and learn the orthography. Linguistic knowledge is also needed to access the grammatical information in Williams. Peter Thompson and I have been the main people using this published grammar to produce simplified grammatical materials, songs, speeches and other learning materials. Without linguistic knowledge the historic and technical material would remain obscure and useless.

One of the few other major language revival programs in NSW involves the Gumbaynggirr language at Murrumbidgee Language Centre. There also the program depends on the cooperation of community members and linguists. Brother Steve Morelli was for many years the person at Murrumbidgee who was able to use previous linguistic sources, to transcribe tapes, to refine grammatical knowledge and to produce new teaching materials. His expertise was an essential element of Gumbaynggirr revival.

Much of the work, more so at the early stages, was and is voluntary or only partly paid. The availability of funding, predominantly through ATSIC, but also from other bodies, has been crucial to the revival work. This will be even more important as the work expands. The administrative support given by ATSIC and the Government and Catholic Education systems has also been vital and a sign of the ideological support for language revival.

Finally a key factor for successful programs is that there be a group with long term involvement. Language revival depends on personal relationships, and these take time to develop. It also depends on a good knowledge of the material, and that likewise takes time.

That GY language revival has continued where many other programs have started and disappeared is because of the fortunate concurrence of many of the factors which support such revival. I now move to a consideration of the broader context of language revival in Australia.

#### *1.1.5.4 The broader context of language revival*

The decline in the use of Australian languages is well documented (for instance Schmidt (1990), quoted in Hosking (2000:16)) but over recent years there have been many attempts to revitalise and maintain some languages. The best documented is the Kaurna program in Adelaide (Amery 2000). There are also a number of programs in NSW. The details of some of them can be found in Hosking (2000). Other programs have come and gone, often with little documented evidence of their history.

The motivations for Indigenous language revival may be many but identity is a key issue. The importance of language work for this and other reasons has been highlighted in two major reports, that of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody and the 'Bringing Them Home' Report (Wilson 1997) This Australian recognition of the importance of Indigenous language is in line with developments in other parts of the world such as Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hawai'i and North America. In Aotearoa/New Zealand the most obvious signs of this revival include the formation of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Maori – (The Maori Language Commission) and the development of Maori language preschools, schools and tertiary courses. Similar but less extensive developments can be found in the other places mentioned. So the increasing work on Aboriginal languages reflects a world wide trend to try to maintain indigenous languages.

However the importance of language revival is not universally recognised. While Governments have spoken of the importance of language revival the actual support in terms of finance and action has been fairly minor from both Federal and State Governments and their departments. Among indigenous people and organisations some have language high

on their priorities but there are others who have it as a low priority and regard language revival as futile and backward-looking.

There are many issues about language revival that still wait further discussion. These include the role that the revived language will have, the changes that are inevitable in a revived language, the degree of standardisation desirable across the GY area and the way decisions are made about revived GY. These are important and are starting to be recognised and will no doubt be addressed later in the revival process.

In summary, the current revival of GY is supported by many elders and others in the community. It receives limited Government and institutional support. It is beginning from a low active use of GY and uses mainly historical material interpreted by linguists. Educational institutions are providing an important base and starting point for the revival and GY revival is slowly moving into the wider community. It is in this context that the need for new words arises, as songs are written and as people in classrooms and homes look for words to use about the everyday things they are using and doing.

## **1.2 A summary of Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay Grammar**

This summary depends largely on Williams (1980) with further material from my own work in GY over recent years. Williams' 'Grammar of Yuwaalaraay' has been the grammatical basis for most Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay work since there is no Gamilaraay Grammar available and the two languages are very similar. As well as summarising Williams and including additional material this summary at times suggest areas of grammar that need further work.

Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay are typical Pama-Nyungan languages in their phonology, syntax, word classes, use of suffixes and in being strongly agglutinating. Like many other Pama-Nyungan languages they have a number of verb classes.

### **1.2.1 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay phonology**

The phonology is of a simple Australian type with five stops (two peripherals, apico-domal, lamino-dental and lamino-palatal) and corresponding nasals, a single lateral, a trill, a semiretroflex continuant and two semivowels. There are three vowels with contrastive length. Two member consonant clusters are found medially. Three member clusters are rare

and are usually intermorphemic. The orthography uses the letters and digraphs a, aa, i, ii, u, uu, b, d, dh, dj, g, m, n, nh, ny, l, r, rr, w and y. The use of voiced symbols for stops reflects the greater use of voiced stops, though the unvoiced do occur.

Table 1-4: GY consonant phonemes

<b>Articulation .....Point Mode</b>	Bilabial	Apico- alveolar	Lamino- dental	Lamino- palatal	Dorsovelar
Stop	b	d	dh	dj	g
Nasal	m	n	nh	ny	ng
Lateral		l			
Trill		rr			
Continuant				r	
Semi-vowel	w			y	(w)

### Phonotactics

Syllables in YW have the following structure: CV(V)(C)(C)

Stems may begin with b, dh/dj, g, m, ng, nh/ny w, y (the glides and the non-apical stops and nasals). Words can end with any of the vowels and with l, n, rr or y. (a glide and 3 apicals if 'rr' is regarded as an apical). Both syllable final consonant clusters have 'y' as the first member, as in *maayn* – 'dingo' and *gayn* – 'smooth'.

Medial consonant clusters are infrequent, Williams recording them in 30% of the stems. These include the five possible homorganic nasal plus stop clusters: nd, mb, ngg, ndh and ndj.

(In the orthography adopted the spelling of the homorganic laminal clusters is simplified, so:

*nh* + *dh* is written *ndh* and *ny* + *dj* is written *ndj*)

Williams examined a sample of 530 stems to determine the relative frequency of consonant clusters. Table 1-5 shows the number of non-homorganic medial clusters Williams recorded in her sample.

Table 1-5: GY medial consonant clusters

### **second member**

<b>first member</b>	b	g	dh	ng	m	rr	l
y	4	2			1	1	1
l	8	11	1				
rr	1	13		2	1		
n	17	18		1	1		1

The following words are examples of some of these consonant clusters: *bandaarr* – ‘grey kangaroo’, *man.garr* – ‘bag’, *malga* – ‘mulga tree’. Williams points out that the syllable final and so cluster initial consonants are precisely those allowed word finally. A search of Giacom (1999), which includes all of the wordlist in Williams, did not find the ‘nl’ cluster. The ‘yrr’ cluster occurs more frequently than is indicated by Williams’ table. Apart from the ‘yl’ and ‘yrr’ clusters the situation is that the first member can be any of the word final consonants and the second member can be any of the word initial consonants apart from ‘nh’ and ‘w’. (‘l’ and ‘rr’ do not occur word-initially.)

The best way to transcribe the diphthong [Ei] is problematic. Williams writes both *dhayin* (1980:175) and *dhayn* (1980:93) for ‘Aboriginal man’ and *gayin* (1980:9) and *gayn* (1980:180) for shovel. For the sake of consistency I have used the forms without the ‘i’. This also leads to more correct pronunciation.

Table 1-6: GY intermorphemic consonant clusters

<b>second member</b>						
<b>first member</b>	b	m	d	dj	g	ng
y	yb	ym		ydj	yg	yng
l	lb	lm	ld		lg	lng
rr	rrb	rrm			rrg	rrng
n	nb		nd		n.g	nng

Examples of these clusters are found in: *bidjaay-bil* – ‘mud-with much’ = ‘covered in mud’, *gulay-giirr* – ‘bag-like’ and *dhuwarr-nginda* – ‘bread-wanting’ = ‘wanting bread’. Three member consonant clusters occur when a suffix is added to stem final consonant clusters. An example is *dhayn-gu* – ‘man-genitive’ = ‘man’s’.

Stress is governed by regular rules. Williams (1980) states that primary stress falls on the first syllable if all vowels are short. If there is a long vowel it has primary stress. However there are exceptions. As in other areas of the grammar I have found further rules in GY

which correspond to Wangaaybuwan rules. Donaldson (1980:42) points out that ‘In a trisyllabic root without long vowels, if the final syllable is open and a monosyllabic final suffix with a short vowel follows, primary stress falls on the second syllable.’ A Wangaaybuwan example is *girrbadja-gu* - ‘kangaroo-DATIVE’ = ‘kangaroo’s’, where primary stress falls on ‘ba’. Similar examples occur in GY.

## 1.2.2 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay word classes

A number of word classes are distinguishable in GY. Verbs are clearly distinguishable on the basis of their inflections. There are good grounds for distinguishing between nouns and adjectives, though there are some arguments for combining the two into one group, nominals. There are also adverbs, particles and other minor word classes.

### 1.2.2.1 Nominals

Williams distinguishes nouns and adjectives in YW. A noun is a word which can be the sole constituent of a Noun Phrase. It can be the subject of a verb or the object of a transitive verb. It is also obligatorily marked for case. An adjective can only be a secondary constituent of a Noun Phrase and is not obligatorily marked for case. Adjectives can be used in attributive sentences such as:

- (1-1) *gaba nhama birralii*  
           good that     child  
           ‘The child is good.’

It is debatable whether the division of nominals into nouns and adjectives is the best analysis. That question will just be touched on here. Some words are found only as nouns – *dhayn*– ‘man’, *yinarr* – ‘woman’. Others occur as both nouns and adjectives – *wamu* – ‘fat’. Some words are found predominantly as adjectives. *Gagil* is an adjective, ‘bad’, except in one case on the tapes when it is the object of a transitive verb and so a noun. Other adjectives such as *yinggil* – ‘tired, lazy’ have never been found acting as nouns. For the present work the division into adjectives and nouns is maintained, with some words being both, although some of these occur overwhelmingly in one function. Adjectives can form a noun by using the suffix –*DHuul*. So *gagil-duul* – ‘bad-duul’ is ‘the bad person, bad one’. Nouns formed in this way are generally animate.



A number of words that Williams has listed as adjectives (*barraay* – ‘fast’, *baluwaa* – ‘slow’ and others) have only been found as adverbs. Goddard (1985:17) has proposed a similar class of words which he calls ‘active adjectives’.

Williams posits a ten-term case system. The cases are listed with the case marker. (An upper case consonant in the case marker means that it has allomorphs.) The cases are:

<u>cases</u>	<u>case marker</u>
absolute	zero
ergative, instrumental	- <i>Gu</i>
locative, dative	- <i>Ga</i>
source	- <i>DHi</i> (see note after 1-2)
genitive, ablative, purposive and benefactive.	- <i>gu</i>

The table below lists the forms of the ergative/instrumental, locative and source suffixes. There is another suffix *-gu* (invariant) which is used for genitive, allative and purposive cases.

Table 1-7: Some GY case suffixes

word ends with:	ergative/ instrumental	locative		word ends with:	source/ circumstantial
<i>a,u</i>	- <i>gu</i>	- <i>ga</i>		<i>a,u,</i>	- <i>dhi</i>
<i>n</i>	- <i>du</i>	- <i>da</i>		<i>n</i>	- <i>di</i>
<i>y,l</i>	- <i>u</i>	- <i>a</i>		<i>l,rr</i>	- <i>i</i>
<i>i,</i>	- <i>dju</i>	- <i>dja</i>		<i>i,y</i>	- <i>dji</i>
<i>rr</i> omit <i>rr</i> ,	- <i>yu</i>	- <i>ya</i>			

Examples of the use of these suffixes include:

<i>barran-du</i>	‘boomerang-instrumental’	= using the boomerang
<i>gulay-a</i>	‘net-locative’	= ‘on the net’
<i>gaawaa-dhi</i>	‘river-circumstantial’	= ‘from the river’
<i>bandaa-yu</i>	‘kangaroo-ergative’	( <i>bandaarr</i> – ‘kangaroo’)

The table of case suffixes as set out above is subject to revision and qualification as the grammar of the language is refined since there are quite a few examples which do not follow the paradigm. The ergative suffix after *minya* – ‘what?’ is *-dhu*, the genitive

sometimes is *-ngu* and words ending in *-aay* often have the locative as *-dha* (*walaay* – camp, *walaa-dha* – at the camp).

A number of aspects of this analysis could be revised. With Goddard (1983:22) I prefer a case system that includes nominative and accusative cases rather than absolutive. Also the *DHi* suffix has a number of uses apart from ‘source’ as shown by the ‘source’ suffix in 1-2.

- (1-2) *bamba ngaya-nha buma-y, dhaygal-i*  
 hard I-that hit-Past, head-Circ  
 I hit him hard on the head.  
 “I hit him on the head pretty hard.” (F Reece)

Donaldson (1980:89) calls the corresponding *DHi* case marker in Wangaaybuwan ‘circumstantive’ and discusses it having a role which includes the Latin cases ablative, inessive, illative and elative. Suffice to say that there are some currently unexplained uses of the suffix. Therefore I will use Donaldson’s term, ‘circumstantial’, for the GY suffix.

Pronouns have five case marked forms, with the first person singular pronouns shown below.

First person singular pronouns

Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Dative	Circumstantial
<i>ngaya</i>	<i>nganha</i>	<i>ngay</i>	<i>nganunda</i>	<i>nganundi</i>

Noun Phrases can be continuous or discontinuous. Where they are continuous it is not obligatory for adjectival members of the Noun Phrase to be case marked. All constituents of discontinuous Noun Phrases are case marked. The following sentence from tape 3219A shows three marked constituents in a Noun Phrase. *Gaba ngulu* – ‘good face’ is the GY idiom for ‘good looking’.

- The good looking man made a joke.  
 (1-3) *giirr-bala nguuma, gaba-gu dhayn-du, ngulu-gu, minyagaa gaba guwaa-y*  
 true-Contrast, he?, good-Erg man-Erg, face-Erg something good say-Past  
 The good looking man said something good.

While nouns and adjectives inflect on an ergative-absolutive basis, pronouns have a split ergative paradigm, with the first person, second person and third person singular forms

following a nominative/ accusative system and the third person plural following an ergative/absolutive pattern. There is little information about the third person dual. Pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural for first second and third persons. There are a number of pronouns forms which occur and have not been incorporated into Williams' paradigm. These may be related to the inclusive-exclusive distinction but the area needs further investigation. Demonstratives are often used in place of third person pronouns, particularly the singular and dual forms.

### **1.2.3 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay verb morphology**

A number of modifications and extensions of Williams' analysis have resulted from my recent work. New verb roots as well as the 188 Williams listed will be included in the GY Dictionary.

#### *1.2.3.1 Transitivity*

As in most Australian languages GY verbs are generally clearly transitive or intransitive. The definition of transitivity adopted here is that in Dixon (1980:378) 'If a verb can occur in a sentence with a nominal in ergative case .. or a pronoun in accusative case .. then it is transitive'. However GY has verb classes and it is common for the same verb root to occur in different verb classes, transitive in one and intransitive in the other. This was not discussed by Williams and is discussed in 1.2.3.3 below. Verbs which were previously listed as intransitive and which are transitive under the definition above include *guwaa-li* – 'talk, say', *giili-y* – 'urinate', *gula-li* – 'bark' (dog barks), *winanga-li* – 'listen' and others.

#### *1.2.3.2 Conjugations*

GY has four conjugations named after the characteristic consonant which occurs in many derived verbal forms. They are the l, y, ng and rr conjugations. As in many other Australian languages the l class is open and largely transitive. The y class is also open and largely intransitive. Williams recorded 115 l class roots and 52 y class roots. The other classes are much smaller without a predominance of transitive or intransitive. There are 15 ng class verbs and 6 rr class verbs.

The Wangaaybuwan language is closely related to GY. It has 3 conjugations, with l and y class similar to those classes in GY. The published Wangaaybuwan grammar is much more extensive than the GY published grammar and reviewing the GY sources in the light of

Wangaaybuwan grammar has led to revision and new discoveries in GY. In Wangaaybuwan no l class roots end in ‘u’. A number of l class roots ending in ‘u’ occur in Giacon (1999) but further examination of the sources indicates that the listed forms are wrong and should end in ‘a’. The only Y class verb that ends in ‘u’ is *ngurrulu-y* - ‘snore’ and this also occurs on the tapes as *ngurrula-y*. It may well be that there is no l or y class stem which ends with ‘u’. Many of the ng and rr class roots end in ‘u’.

### 1.2.3.3 *Verb stems found in more than one verb class*

A major part of the recent grammatical analysis is the description of the same verb root occurring in two conjugations, l and y. There are many examples on the tapes of the same verb root occurring as l and y class verbs. The same phenomenon has been found in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson 1980:168). The vast majority of examples of roots occurring in two conjugations is the result of a regular derivational process which forms an intransitive y class verb from a transitive l class verb. The intransitive form has a number of uses. For example from *buma-li* – ‘hit’ is formed *buma-y* which can be used as an anticausative (‘will be hit’), as a reflexive (‘will hit self’) and probably as an antipassive. The possible existence of the antipassive in GY is an area for further investigation. In fact there are a number of unexplained phenomena associated with the change of verb class. The sentence (1-4) below involves the intransitivised form of *gama-li* – ‘break’(transitive). (The fact that the l class past tense suffix is identical to the y class future suffix can cause some confusion. *gama-y* is either ‘broke’ [transitive, past tense of *gama-li*, l class] or ‘will break’ [intransitive, future tense of a y class verb])

- (1-4) *bundaa-nhi-nga muyaan-di, buyu gama-nhi.*  
 fall-Past-that? tree-Circ, leg break-Past  
 “He fell off the tree and broke his leg.” (Fred Reece)

Current wordlists have only *gama-li* which is l class. However in sentence (1-4) the verb is y class and past tense. It is a reflexive use of the verb (Subject and object are the same).

In the vast majority of examples when the one root appears in two verb classes it is transitive in l class and intransitive in y class. There are a number of exceptions, the main one being the verb stem *winanga-*. It occurs as a transitive verb in both l and y class: *winanga-li* - ‘listen’, ‘hear’ and *winanga-y* – ‘understand’, ‘know’, ‘remember’, ‘think’.

GY *winanga-* continues the pattern in many Australian languages that one verbal root translates many of ‘listen, hear, understand, know, remember, think’.

#### 1.2.3.4 Other verb features

Actual verbs consist of a root, a number of suffixes (possibly  $\emptyset$ ) and a final tense ending. Finite tenses divide into future and non-future. Progressive tenses divide into future, present and past.

##### 1.2.3.4.1 Finite tenses

GY verbs inflect into two finite tenses, future and non-future and also have an imperative. The forms are shown in Table 1-8. The non-future suffix has a variant *-nyi* after stem final ‘i’. Purposive is formed by the future + ‘-gu’.

Table 1-8: GY finite tense suffixes and imperative suffixes

	future	non-future	command
l class	-li	-y,	-la
y class	-y	-nhi (-nyi)	-ya
ng class	-gi	-nhi (-nyi)	-nga
rr class	-rri	-nhi (-nyi)	-na

Below are some examples of these suffixes:

*wiima-li* – ‘will put down’, *wiima-y* – ‘did put down’, *wiima-la* – ‘put down!’

*banaga-y* – ‘will run’, *banaga-nhi* – ‘ran’, *banaga-ya* – ‘run!’

##### 1.2.3.4.2 Progressive aspect

There are a number of aspectual suffixes which can be gathered under the term ‘progressive’. Williams (1980:75) lists two main forms for each verb class, but there are variations of these main forms. She found no distinction in the meanings of the suffixes. I have found differences in meaning but there is still much about these suffixes that remains unexplained. All progressive suffixes form a y class verb stem, irrespective of the class of the original root and can divide into future (-y), present (-*nha*) and past (-*nhi*), in contrast to the future/non-future of the finite tenses. The stem also has the regular y class imperative suffix. These progressive suffixes are treated separately from other aspectual suffixes because they alone divide into three tenses (past, present and future) and because they

follow all other stem-forming suffixes. The examples below illustrate some of the progressive suffixes in y class.

*banaga-y* is ‘will run’; the *-waa-(y)* suffix indicates one continuous action. (and so I label it ‘continuous’).

<i>banaga-waa-y</i>	‘will be running’
<i>banaga-waa-nha</i>	‘is running’
<i>banaga-waa-nhi</i>	‘was running’
<i>banaga-waa-ya</i>	‘keep running!’

Another progressive suffix which occurs on y class stems is *-y-la-y*, which indicates that the action happens regularly. It is also translated ‘around’, (I label it ‘regular’)

<i>banaga-y-la-nha</i>	‘runs’, ‘runs around’
------------------------	-----------------------

The following is a preliminary attempt to classify the GY progressive suffixes.

**continuous** – one action that is continued, action while moving

**regular** – one action that occurs regularly; also ‘around’

Table 1-9: GY progressive suffixes

verb class	progressive suffixes	
	continuous	regular
l class	-laa-	-lda-
y class	-waa- (-yaa-)	-y-la-
ng class	-waa- (-yaa-)	-gi-la-
rr class	-rraa	-rraa-

(-waa- is replaced by -yaa- after root final ‘i’)

#### 1.2.3.4.3 Transitivity suffix

Some other proposed transitivity suffixes are discussed in chapter three. As in Wangaaybuwan and some other Australian languages *-ma-li* is a causative, transitivity suffix. From *warra-y* – ‘stand’ (intransitive) is formed ‘*warra-ma-li/warra-y-ma-li* – ‘stand’ (transitive), ‘build’. It is only used in situations where the consent of the subject is not required for the action to happen. So *warrama-li* – ‘stand’ can be used of ‘standing a broom in the corner’ but not of ‘standing a person in the corner’ because some degree of consent is required from the person. Similarly *-ma-li* cannot be used in situations such as ‘make him walk, make him eat’. The suffix *-ma-li* is also used in the formation of loan verbs from English. The common structure is English verb (phonologically adapted) + *i* /

*irr + ma-li*. Examples include *dhuudima-li* – ‘shoot’, *gigima-li /gigirrma-li* – kick, and almost certainly *wagirrma-li* – ‘wash’.

#### 1.2.3.4.4 Intransitivising suffixes

The change of verb class, from l class to y class, mentioned above is one such process. There are two other intransitivising suffixes: (CM refers to the conjugation marker or verb class: l, y, rr, ng)

- CM-a-y      reciprocal (not *CM-ala-y* as in Williams) and
- ngiili-y      reflexive

Sentence (1-5) has the simple verb ‘talk’ while (1-6) has a reciprocal form.

- (1-5) *yina-yu      nhama gaay guwaa-y*  
 woman-Erg that      word talk-Past  
 The woman talked.

- (1-6) *giirr nhama bulaarr gaay guwaa-la-y-la-nhi*  
 true that      two      word talk-Recip-y-Reg-Past  
 The two of them talked to one another.

#### 1.2.3.4.5 Aspectual suffixes

Williams lists the following aspectual suffixes:

Table 1-10 GY aspectual suffixes

- ngayi-y      recent past, near future (This is added to the verb stem and forms a y class verb.)
- mayaa-y      distant past. (sometimes “yesterday”)
- ngayi-li      ‘all day’, on-going, habitual
- ayla-y      ‘before’, ‘yesterday’
- aaba-li      ‘all’ This operates ergatively, referring to the Subject of an intransitive verb (sentence 1-7) and the Object of a transitive verb (sentence 1-8).
- uwi-y      ‘back’ (as in ‘go back, look back’)
- n.giili-y, V-li-y ‘benefactive’ (V means the preceding vowel is lengthened.) Used in sentences such as ‘I cooked the meat for you.’

- (1-7) *dhaay nganunda yanaa-w-aaba-la*  
 to\_here me\_at      go-w-All-Command  
 Come to me all of you.

- (1-8) *garriya ngaama dhuwarr wuu-rr-aaba-la*  
 don’t that? bread      give-rr-All-Command

Don't give all the bread away.

There are two aspectual suffixes not described by Williams.

- dha-y* 'eating'. This has various translations, including 'as a result of eating', 'after eating'. There are more details later in 3.4.1.2.
- gi-y* 'around' This suffix occurs only a small number of times: *bara-y* is 'fly' and *bara-gi-la-nha* – 'fly-gi-regular-present' = 'are flying around'. On the tapes –*gi-y* also occurs in *biyuurra-gi-la-nhi* (*biyuurra-y* – 'roll') and *gindama-gi-la-nhi*, (*gindama-y* – 'laugh') but the translations given by the informants give no indication of its role.

There is also a so far unexplained suffix –*ali-y*. It occurs in an unclear sentence as *banaga-ali-nyi* – 'ran away with'; *banaga-y* is 'run'. The form of the suffix is similar to that given by Williams for the benefactive I class suffix and there may be one suffix or two related ones.

Other similar unexplained features may well turn up with further examination of the tapes and other sources, especially if they are examined with the expectation that new morphemes may well emerge.

There are a number of indications healthy GY had a considerably more complex set of verb forms than has been recorded. Ian Sim, who spent a deal of time in the 1950's with fluent speakers, is of the opinion that what has been captured is an impoverished form of the language, missing many of the subtleties of the fuller versions. Williams (1980:74) quotes R. H. Mathews. (1902:142) 'there are forms of the verb to express beating going along the road, beating before some event, after some event, after eating and many others.' On the tapes she attempts to elicit some of these forms but is often unsuccessful. The Wangaaybuwan Grammar has a greater number of verb suffixes than current GY grammar, an indication that the GY record is deficient. The fact that the resources of GY have been incompletely recorded should encourage us to posit morphemes on less rather than more evidence and to borrow from other closely related languages so that the communicative potential of the language increases.



### **1.3 Some comments on GY linguistic sources and on grammars**

This thesis is looking at ways of forming ‘new words’ in GY. It assumes there is a grammar of word-formation in GY which should be the basis on which new words are formed. There are no fluent speakers of GY who can suggest new words or give judgment on suggested new words so this grammar needs to be found elsewhere. There are three sources for this information. The first is the written material produced by Europeans over the last one hundred and sixty years. The second is tapes of GY speakers. The third is a comparative study of GY and related Aboriginal languages. The first two sources will be considered now and some comments made on the difference between them.

#### **1.3.1 Instinctive grammar and written grammar**

The basic argument of this section is that historical GY material, particularly the tapes, contains grammatical information which has not been analysed. Therefore any investigation of an aspect of grammar, such as word formation, which has not been highlighted previously has much to learn from the historical material.

The rules or the grammar of a language will be known instinctively by a fluent speaker. Some of this information may be formulated and written down in published grammars. Fluent speakers can, in general, tell if a statement or word is well formed and can produce well formed material without necessarily being able to express the ‘rules’ they use in judging the material. They have ‘instinctive grammar’. ‘Formulated or published grammar’, on the other hand, is the formulation of some of those rules, usually by linguists, usually in written form. The distinction between the two aspects of grammar is important. It is doubtful if a published grammar/wordlist will ever contain all the knowledge of a fluent speaker. In particular the published GY grammatical material does not contain a full analysis of the word forming processes in GY.

Williams (1980), Mathews (1902 and 1903) and Ridley (1875) are examples of published grammars. Like all grammars they are incomplete, limited by the time, expertise, competence and conceptual tools available to the writer. They can also be limited by knowledge of the informants or sources used by the writers. The shape of the written grammar will also be influenced by the interests of the writer and by the areas considered

important in linguistics at the time the it is written. Phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse grammar are just some of the areas which can receive greater or less prominence.

On the other hand the tapes of Fred Reece and Arthur Dodd are examples of (partially) fluent GY. There is a fundamental difference between the tapes and the published grammars. The tapes contain the instinctive knowledge of the speakers and some of that knowledge has not found its way into the published grammar. The examples of new grammatical rules scattered throughout this thesis clearly show that further investigation can find new rules in the tapes, in the speech of fluent speakers. For instance the rule that l and y class verb stems always (arguably) end in 'a' or 'i' but never in 'u'. It is to be expected that there are other word-level rules in the GY grammar. This expectation is based on the difficulty of finding these rules and the existence of subtle rules in other languages. An example of a word level/morphological rule which could easily be missed is in Goddard (1993:92) 'All the basic zero and l- class verbs I have recorded contain an even number of morae and all the n- and ng- class verbs contain an odd number of morae.' This is not to suggest that this rule applies to GY but rather that there are such rules in languages and they are not easily found and so other such rules may well exist in GY.

The relationship between instinctive knowledge of a language and published grammar is perhaps like that between an area of country and a map. While the map can be more or less detailed, it never captures everything. All maps necessarily focus on some aspects and leave out others. No map will show all of roads, tracks, waterways, altitude, vegetation, ownership, sacred sites and soil type or other features that can be found in an area. Some aspects will be featured and others downplayed or left out or not even be thought of.

This thesis will focus on the grammar of forming words, an aspect of GY which has not been highlighted in previous writing. It assumes firstly that there is more to be found out about this from the original materials, in particular from the tapes but also by reanalysing written materials with a focus on word formation. It also assumes that people who have experience of Aboriginal languages and experience of the GY sources will also develop some instinctual knowledge that may not be formulated but which will help form words which are more consistent with traditional GY.

What follows is a general evaluation of the recorded GY material. It does not try to be exhaustive but rather gives a background from which to look at source material. Each GY source contributes significantly to our knowledge of GY but each also has many areas which it does not cover, treats inadequately, or analyses incorrectly. Firstly I will look at material from non-Aboriginal people and then at the tape material.

### **1.3.2 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay published grammars**

To say that the GY material we have is limited is not to criticise those who collected and published that material. They have done a great service and current work on GY would be impossible without the material they produced. Rather the point of considering the limits of the recorded material is to be aware of those limits and to be aware that a reviving language will need to move beyond those limits.

The lack of written knowledge of GY is clearly shown in the various wordlists. They have nothing like the 10,000 items that are reckoned to be the normal lexicon of a fully functioning, healthy language. It is also obvious that the one GY word to one English word format in wordlists will capture only a very small part of the information that fluent speakers have about a word – such as its various meanings, restrictions on its use, its idiomatic use, the case structure of its arguments and much more.

Ridley's 1875 work contains material which is also in his earlier publications. It has 13 pages of 'grammar' and a further 25 pages of wordlist and GY text. It is a valuable source of words and verb inflections, touches on distinctive forms such as dual and plural pronouns and has a variety of time/aspectual suffixes on verbs including 'past, today, yesterday, some days ago, present, future and tomorrow' (1875:10).

Ridley does not contain aspectual verb suffixes such as *-aaba-li* - 'all', or *-uwi-y* - 'back', pronouns in locative or source forms, discourse grammar and many other features recorded elsewhere. He has a section 'Gurre Kamilaroi – Extracts from a Missionary Primer' which is a narrative in 'Gamilaraay' based on the Old Testament story of creation and some Gospel incidents. This 'Kamilaroi' text may well have been decipherable by Ridley's congregation but they would have heard much that did not parallel the way they spoke Gamilaraay. There are very few ergative suffixes, almost no demonstratives and almost no

connective words. There are no appositional clauses and the word order stays fairly constant. All of these features contrast markedly with the only good record we have of spoken GY, the tapes of Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece. This is not to criticize Ridley, but rather to put it into perspective. It is something like a short Primary school or early High School level grammar and many of the features he does not cover are also left out of later grammatical material.

Mathews (1902 and 1903) are also valuable sources. They contain some material that is not in Ridley (1875) such as a fuller, but not complete pronoun paradigm, a suffixed form of ‘I’ (first person singular pronoun), reflexive forms of the verbs and a list of demonstratives. Like Ridley it lacks connective words. Mathews attitude to demonstratives is worth noting. He says (1902:140) ‘The demonstratives are many and diverse and can be declined for number and case.’ but then in his material on Gamilaraay says ‘in all the expressions illustrating the several grammatical cases in Kamilaroi ... the demonstrative pronouns are purposely omitted, for the two-fold object of saving space and avoiding confusion by introducing any more words than the sentence really required. For example, where I have given “*Murridu mindere kauai*” (man at padamelon threw), would be expressed by the black fellow: “This man-in-front at yonder-on-left padamelon threw,” or as the subject might require.’ (1903:268)

Mathews clearly recognises the importance and prominence of demonstratives in GY. While it may be appropriate for him to leave out demonstratives when illustrating verb forms, they could be treated elsewhere. That Mathews has not done this is perhaps best explained by the fact that no-one has yet deciphered the system by which these obviously compound words are formed and their meaning and use determined. (see 5.1.3.1) There are also errors in Mathews. For example he gives *ngaia* as ‘I’ and he states (1902:140) ‘There is also a causative form, as, *Ngaiala*, I (will do it)’. Even today *-laa* is not fully analysed but it is a clitic rather than a suffix and its meaning may be something like ‘then’ or ‘same topic’, rather than causative.

The Corinne Williams ‘Grammar of Yuwaalaraay’ has been a great resource in GY language revival. Its syntax and wordlists have been the basis for recent GY composition. It was produced as part of a scheme to record ‘dying’ languages in the 1970’s. Without it GY

language classes and learning would have been extremely limited. It is a marvelous work given the constraints Williams worked under. However it is limited. Its wordlist contains about 1300 items in a one word to one word format - e.g. “*banaga-y* – ‘run’ Int” which clearly does not capture the full meaning or use of *banaga-y*. Williams does not cover some of the material previously (and subsequently) recorded such as the dual suffix *-gaali* which is in Mathews (1902:137) and the Jack Sands tape. Its treatment of demonstratives is to list them but it does not arrive at a comprehensive analysis. There are also quite a few words which I have transcribed from the tapes which are not in Williams’ wordlist including *yalagiirra* and *waama* which both mean something like ‘because, as a result, therefore’ and *yalagiirrmawu* – something like ‘at that time’. These are not easy words to define but they are frequently used on the tapes.

This is not to devalue the contribution of the earlier grammars. They are extremely valuable and their authors have made a great contribution to keeping GY alive. They all had limited time to do their work, often had limited expertise and, in the case of Williams, worked with informants who were not fully fluent. Understandably they captured only a limited part of the language. The point is that more can be discovered from the sources. A fuller GY grammar and historical wordlist can be developed.

### *1.3.2.1 Historical and Revival Grammars*

A further distinction is worth making. All of the ‘Grammars’ referred to above aimed to be historical, to record a part of GY as they found it. As such they can be called ‘archival’ or ‘historical’ grammars. Language revival aims to be true to this grammar, but is also about developing the grammar so that it can be the basis for a language that is actively used. It aims to produce what might be called a ‘Revival Grammar’. A ‘historical grammar’ may say ‘there is no (reliable) information available about this part of GY’ but a ‘revival grammar’ may decide to define a rule on the basis of partial information, or even on grammar borrowed from other languages. The imperative for ‘historical grammar’ is to present and interpret recorded information. The imperative for ‘revival grammar’ is to develop a usable language which is also faithful to the historical language.

### **1.3.3 The taped material**

The distinction between tapes and other sources is an extremely important one. While tapes are filtered to some extent – the informants have limited knowledge and cover limited

domains - the whole expression of the informant is captured and can be revisited in its original form again and again. (The facial expression and body movement is not captured which does limit understanding in some cases but this is relatively minor). On the other hand written material is always condensed and has been filtered by the understanding of the writer. Some examples of what is now 'obvious' grammar that has been found on the tapes which was missed by most or all previous writers includes *-bala* (contrast clitic) and *-nga* - 'then' and even more so the l class to y class verb change.

There is some tape material from the 1950's recorded by Stephen Wurm, some from the 70's recorded by Peter Austin and some other short recordings of songs and word lists. The Wurm tape material does contain sentences but the translation is often only in written form and there are a number of inaccuracies in some of the translations. Wurm could only make very short recordings on the equipment available at the time. The Austin material is mainly word lists with informants generally having a very limited knowledge.

The vast majority of taped material is of Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece and was recorded by Janet Mathews and Corinne Williams in the 1970's when both the men were in their 80's. These tapes are referred to throughout this work by their archive number at AIATSIS (Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies) The Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece material adds up to over 40 hours. It includes word lists, sentence elicitation and stories. The elicitors have a number of differences in approach, the types of material covered is limited and it is important to recognise that the informants' knowledge was limited. This material is extremely valuable since much of it is actual fluent speech and so contains the instinctive knowledge of speakers. It also contains words that have not been included in previous wordlists.

Mathews was not a linguist. While she recognises a few words she does not understand the grammar of the material she is eliciting. Her approach was archival rather than analytical. She was collecting material (from many languages, in fact) that someone else might use in the future. Her typical style was to read wordlists, sentences or stories and ask the informant to translate. On occasion she also had the informant tell stories.

Often the informant gives his own translation of the sentence being elicited, as in this section of tape 2436A. The first line has the material given for translation, the second a transcription of Fred Reece, the third a gloss. Fred Reece's (FR) own translation of what he said is at the end in "" (double inverted commas).

JM    After a long time they all went to sleep.  
 (1-9) *giirr-nga ganunga gaba-rra-y?? giirr-nha dhiinggaa-dhi*,  
       true-then? they-Abs good-rra-y?? true-that    meat-Circ  
       They all ?felt good because of the meat,  
  
       *gaba-nha gi-yaa-nha    ganunga dhanduwi-y.*  
       good-that get-Cont-Pres they-Abs sleep-Future  
       they are getting comfortable and will sleep.

FR:    "They are nice and full now after eating the meat, they all going to go to sleep/bed."

This example also illustrates other features of my transcriptions. '??' indicates that the transcription is not uncertain, either because of sound quality, or because it contains an unrecognised structure. In this example it may be that a verb ?*gabarra-li* – 'get good?' exists, but it has not been found elsewhere nor is there a known process for forming verbs from adjectives using *-rra-li*. (*gaba* is 'good'). The 'sleep/bed' indicates that Fred Reece used both translations.

The transcriptions contains much Yuwaaliyaay that is well formed and understood, but also much that is uncertain, but may be understood in future, possibly revealing new grammar.

Corinne Williams on the other hand has a very good knowledge of the grammar and on occasions checks the information being given. In fact Arthur Dodd compliments her a number of times on her knowledge. She often follows up on new grammatical structures that emerge during elicitation and she will work around a grammatical point (such as relative clauses) to get a clearer understanding.

Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece are the richest sources of knowledge of YW but there are limits to their knowledge. This may be due to the amount of YW they initially learnt, the fact that neither of them had used it for many years and that they were both in their 80's when interviewed.

The following excerpt of tape 1851B illustrates the informant's level of fluency. Janet Mathews (JM) is asking for translations.

- JM being busy  
 FR (I might want to say) "can't go with you now, I'm too busy,...There is a way of saying it, but Reece can't say it."
- JM lazy  
 FR "There is a word, must be a word..."
- JM like, I like eating emu,  
 FR "There is a word, a simple one... only way I can explain that – *gaba* – good; *gagil* – bad  
 (1-10) *gaba nhama wadjiin*"  
 good that white woman  
 That white woman is good.  
 "that's a good woman, good white woman"

Arthur Dodd (AD) on the other hand is more likely to give a paraphrase if he cannot find the word, as shown in the following from tape 3217B.

- JM widow  
 AD There is a word .....
- (1-11) *giirr-bala ngay wayamaa-nga, balu-nhi* –; (AD then looks for a paraphrase)  
 true-Contrast my old man–nga die-Past  
 "My old man died."

<i>guliirr-dhalibaa-bala ngay</i> –	<i>guliirr-dhalibaa ngay</i> ,
partner-Without-Contrast I	partner-Without I
"no husband" "no husband"	

<i>yiya ngay maayu 'naa-y-la-y</i>	<i>biya-duul</i> –
just I well go-y-Reg-Future one-only (alone)	
"I'll walk about here on my own now."	

(This example also illustrates the occurrence of discourse clitics/suffixes –*bala* and –*nga*. –*bala* has since been described, perhaps not exhaustively and –*nga* still awaits description and may mean something like 'then')

It is often these unsolicited sentences and translations which contain new material to be analysed.

Another feature of the tape material is the limited number of areas covered. Apart from a few very brief wordlists there are no tapes of women. The material covered is largely wordlists, sentences and stories. There is little or nothing of other genres such as greetings, conversation, argument, irony, praise and sarcasm. The wordlist elicitation often begins



with previous wordlists such as those of R.H. Mathews, Sim and Langloh-Parker and tend to predominantly cover concrete concepts such as nouns (e.g. body parts and animals) and ‘concrete’ verbs (walk, run, jump, hit) rather than more difficult to translate words such as ‘love, idea, wish, praise, regret and judge.’ It may well be that these words as well as being more difficult to illustrate to the informant are also the words that would be lost earlier in a language that is declining in use and so the informants did not know them.

Stephen Wurm worked at a time when tape recorders were cumbersome and could be used for only short periods in the field, so he tape recorded some material but transcribed a lot more. It may be that phonetically transcribed material, such as that of Wurm, may contain unrecognised grammatical features, as the tapes do. However the phonetic transcription and the translation have both been filtered through the linguist’s perception and understanding and so are less reliable than actual sound. Wurm’s material does not include features such as the informant’s own translation, or the various versions of a sentence that the Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece often produce as the search for the ‘right’ translation. Nor does it have the uninterrupted narrative that at times occurs on the later tapes, with the discourse structure that this captures. So it is impossible for written material to capture all the knowledge that is there in the original sound material of reasonably fluent speakers.

#### **1.3.4 Developments in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay grammar**

This section gives examples of some recent developments in GY grammatical knowledge, illustrating that there is unanalysed material in the tapes and other sources. It is not exhaustive. Rather, by giving a few examples, it aims to show that there is every likelihood that further development will take place.

Current linguists have access to the ideas and concepts that have been developed and circulated since 1980. In producing her Grammar Williams also worked under very tight time constraints and did not have the technical resources such as computer sound programs and the many other computer tools available today. Newly described YW grammar includes the description of the distinction between some of the progressive suffixes, description of verb class change (discussed above in 1.2.3.3) and distinguishing dubitative suffixes (below) as well as more lexical material such as changes in the transitivity of some verbs.

Williams (1980:58) describes a ‘dubitative’ suffix which has three forms, *-waa*, *-yaa* and *-waayaa/-yaayaa* and identical meaning. It turns out that *-waa* (allomorph *-yaa* after root final *-i*) and *-yaa* are distinguishable on the basis of meaning and the roots to which they attach.

*-waa* is attached to question words to form indefinites. From *ngaandu-* ‘who (Ergative)’ is formed *ngaandu-waa* – who(Ergative)-*waa* – ‘someone’, from *minyaaya* – ‘where (at)?’ is formed *minyaaya-waa* – ‘(at) somewhere’. The distinctive meaning of *-waa* seems to be ‘I am not going to tell you.’ (either because I do not know or do not want to tell you)

*-yaa* can be attached to many types of words and is often translated by ‘must’, ‘probably’ or ‘likely’

*-waayaa* is the least explained. It is sometimes translated in the same way as *-yaa*, but at times the translation includes ‘I don’t know’.

A full description of the suffixes has not been achieved but there is enough evidence to partially differentiate them.

## **2 Principles for forming new Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay words**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay are closely related Australian languages which are in the process of being revived. This chapter looks at some linguistic and sociolinguistic principles involved in the creation of new words in Gamilaraay – Yuwaalaraay (GY). Then it gives examples of new Yuwaalaraay words which have been recently created. It concludes with a discussion of how decisions about new GY words are currently made and might be made in future.

In recent years there have been a number of GY revival programs, listed in chapter one. It is in the context of these programs that the need for new words has arisen as people try to use GY to talk about everyday things or to write speeches and songs.

A number of general principles are adopted for the formation of new words. The basic principle is that Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay people are the owners of the languages. Any ‘words’ proposed in this thesis or by other non-GY people are merely proposals until adopted by GY people. The process of adoption is discussed at the end of this chapter. The other principles are subsidiary to this basic one. One is that current production of new words should, as much as possible follow the patterns used by traditional GY language to form new words. Another is that the methods of word production should be consistent with the present state of GY as a language growing from a situation of extremely limited use and in the context of English as the dominant language.

The knowledge which informs current GY work must come from historical material since very little GY is currently known by the GY community. Fewer than one hundred words are generally used and sometimes speakers do not realise the word they are using is GY. For instance in Walgett the suffix *-giirr* – ‘like’ is reasonably common in expressions such as fish-*giirr* – ‘like a fish’ but those using *-giirr* are generally not aware that it is a GY suffix. Almost no GY syntax is known apart from what has been learnt in language classes.

The term ‘new words’ is multi-valent. It can be used to mean words that have been recorded but have not been easily available. At present most people looking for GY words are limited to what is in wordlists published in recent years – Austin (1992, 1994) and Giacon (1999) which combines Austin and the wordlist in Williams (1980). The Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay Dictionary, which is in preparation, will make many other words from the historical records readily available. However I generally use ‘new words’ to mean words that have been newly coined or borrowed rather than words which have been rediscovered. The context will indicate which sense of the term is intended.

## **2.2 ‘Authentic’ Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay**

I here consider two aspects of the production of new GY words. The first is the grammatical processes used in production the new words. The second is that GY people are in a vastly different world from that of their ancestors. The question then arises as to whether GY revival is about trying to maintain a traditional world view or developing a language that accepts the world view of the broader community that GY people now live in.

### **2.2.1 The grammar of word production**

I have assumed that word formation needs to be based on traditional GY grammar – words need to be formed the way traditional GY did it. Most GY people want to learn the language ‘as the old people spoke it’. So the task of the linguist is to analyse and transmit the old language to the extent that that can be done. This contrasts with one minority view that an English relexified with GY words would be better since it would be easier to learn. I also assume that the simplification that often happens in Aboriginal languages as their use declines is not genuine language development to be incorporated but a sign of language loss. Donaldson (1980:84) gives the example of the simplification of case suffixes by younger speakers in Wangaaybuwan.

However a considerable amount of GY grammar has been lost and will never be rediscovered and so the question is ‘What is authentic GY grammar today?’ The answer I have adopted is that the grammar to use is firstly that found in old GY, that is in the GY written and tape material. Where that does not provide an answer the next step is to go to other Australian languages for ideas, beginning with the languages most closely related to GY. In practice that means beginning with Donaldson’s Wangaaybuwan Grammar (1980)

and other materials from the ‘no-having’ languages and then looking at the broader Pama-Nyungan and other Australian language sources. One aspect of GY that is particularly relevant to word formation is that GY like other Pama-Nyungan languages is agglutinative.

### 2.2.1.1 *Information from other languages*

I will give just a few examples of the application of grammar and word use from other languages. GY has a causative suffix *-ma-li*. From *warra-y* – ‘stand’ is formed *warrayma-li* – ‘cause to stand, build’. However the GY sources give little other information about the use of this suffix. Wangaaybuwan also has *-ma-li* as a causative suffix but it can only be used ‘where the introduced ‘causer’ is directly responsible for the event’s taking place. It .. cannot be attached to ‘run’.. since running must be initiated by and act of the will on the part of the runner.’ (Donaldson 1980:165) This is the only information available about restrictions on this causative suffix. In the absence of information from GY sources and with a clear rule from a closely related language, GY could adopt that rule. To do so would be to create new GY grammar beyond what is currently available but if GY is to develop it has no option but to develop and grow, both lexically and syntactically.

There are extensive patterns of polysemy and metaphor across Australian languages which GY can adopt. These are illustrated in Peile (1997), who has many examples of multiple senses of words and of idioms. Some parallels between Kukutja (the language he works with) and GY are striking. Both use ‘bone’ reduplicated to mean ‘skinny’, both use the one word (*wakala* in Kukutja, *dhu-rri* in GY) for ‘pierce, spear, poke’ and both have extended its meaning to ‘write’. This extension of meaning is in fact found in many Australian languages. Peile also reports the extension ‘pierce’ to ‘inject’ in Kukutja and so this pattern could also be followed in GY. These and many other parallels mean that there will be much in Peile that can form the pattern for calques and idioms where GY has nothing at present. In particular Peile gives many examples of the use of body part terms to geographical features, and Morelli (p.c.) reports that Gumbaynggirr has similar extensions of meaning. The greater the number of languages which employ any particular example of polysemy or metaphor the more appropriate it is for GY to adopt it.

Other information about well preserved languages can also inform GY word building. Nash (1986:22) lists over twenty five nominal suffixes in Warlpiri. The fact that there are so

many in Warlpiri and in other languages encourages one to search for a comparable number in GY and to identify suffixes on the basis of few examples, especially if they have a cognate or a parallel suffix in other languages.

A further point is that new words should be in the appropriate word class. The temptation is for English speakers to want the GY word to be of the same class as the English word. Two examples will illustrate that this is not always appropriate. The English adjective ‘lonely’, is translated by a verb *walindja-li* in GY. The way of saying ‘want’ in GY is with a suffix -*nginda*, not a verb. In cases where a word is needed and its word class is not clear GY should follow Wangaaybuwan and the other closely related languages or if that information is not available GY should adopt the common practice, if any, in other Australian languages.

Like other Australian languages GY has a very productive range mechanisms for forming composite words including derivational and compounding processes. There are also many examples of idiomatic use of words and phrases. The main chapters of this thesis focus on these compounding and derivational processes and on the literal and metaphorical use of the new words so formed. They also look at the circumstances in which it is appropriate to borrow or to calque words and phrases from other languages.

### 2.2.1.2 A note about terminology

I use the term ‘idiosyncratic meaning’ often in this thesis. Many new words are formed by derivational processes or compounding and the relationship between the meaning of their components and the meaning of the new word varies. At times the meaning of the new word is totally predictable, for instance *milam-biyaay* ‘milk-having’ literally means that, ‘having milk’. This meaning is predictable. At the same time *milam-biyaay* is also means ‘cow’. The first use of *milam-biyaay* ‘predictable’ and the second ‘idiosyncratic’.

I use the term ‘idiosyncratic’ to refer to non-predictable meanings of words in contrast to the predictable meaning. The second meaning is explainable but not predictable. Often the formation of a new word involves giving such a metaphorical, idiosyncratic meaning to a word that also has a predictable meaning. Another example is the bird name *nhan-garra*. The literal meaning is ‘neck-cut’. It has presumably been used idiosyncratically as the name

of the bird because of a yellow mark on the back of the bird's neck. There is no way of predicting the meaning of *nhan-garra* on the basis of its components, nor can that be done with its English equivalent 'ring-neck'. Sometimes the link between a word and its referent is found in a story – for instance in a story the seagull is the 'bringer of mussels', which is what its name, *maanggii-warraywarraymal*, literally means. The fact that many existing GY words are idiosyncratic is a good reason to form idiosyncratic new words.

### **2.2.2 A Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay world view**

The main purpose of language revival is to strengthen and revive Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay identity and culture. However that simple statement raises questions about what current GY culture is and about the relationship between culture and language that go well beyond the scope of this thesis. All I will do here is give some examples of the sorts of linguistic questions that arise and present a working solution. The main question is about the maintenance and/or development of lexicon to do with aspects of life that have changed greatly since the arrival of Europeans. Some of these aspects are the role of the individual, family relationships, greeting and politeness terms and nature.

The way GY people conceptualise personal relationships has changed markedly and words are needed that correspond to those new concepts. In traditional times GY people were often referred to by the marriage section/social section names or by relationship terms such as 'aunt'. Langloh-Parker (1905:42) has a chapter about a GY woman who is always referred to as 'Bootha' (*buudhaa* – a section name). In the historical material there are many terms recorded for kin classifications such as 'older brother' and 'mother's mother's brother'. Neither social sections nor those kin classifications are used now and some words have been adapted, for instance *dhagaan* has changed from 'older brother' to 'brother'. One of the linguist's task is to list the old terms and their previous use but also to point out how some have changed. Another task is to develop ways of speaking about current concepts of kin and relationships. For instance GY still has no generic word for 'person' – all its terms differentiate between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people – and a generic term is needed. Similarly there are no clear words in traditional GY for greetings or for 'please' and 'thank you', nor has a pattern been found for asking permission. Yet many GY people now use these expressions in English and ask for GY translations of them.

The physical environment and belief system of GY people has changed markedly and here again new words are needed if GY is to be used to talk about the new reality. In traditional GY life people were very aware of and dependent on the natural environment around them, on the plants, animals and landscape. It was their immediate source of food and shelter and featured strongly in their stories and beliefs. Survival depended on good knowledge of that environment. This environment was seen not just as something ‘out there’ but the animals and all of nature were related to people through the totem system. Moreover the actions of animals were an important source of knowledge with, for instance, many birds being regarded as messengers. There are over 100 bird names in the GY lexicon of around 2000 items, showing how important the natural environment was in traditional society. While some of these beliefs and relationships continue in the world of GY people today, the people also live in a very different physical and conceptual world for which new words are needed. ‘Town, shop, work, pay, radio, car, school, justice, packet and mathematics’ are just a few of the many words needed to talk about this new reality.

While GY was still strong it did borrow and create words for new things such as *wanda* – ‘white man’ (from *wandabaa* – ‘ghost’), *dhimba* – ‘sheep’, (probably phonetic adaptation of ‘jumbuck’) and many more. GY created very few new words during the 20<sup>th</sup> century when its use was declining rapidly. There are no recorded GY words for ‘train, aeroplane, school or town’ – all of which were a significant part of GY life then.

A more complicated issue is the association between broader grammatical structures and a particular way of living and world view. For instance there is no direct translation of ‘make (someone do something)’ in GY or Wangaaybuwan. The structure is to use the word for ‘say’ or ‘tell’ and this may imply that the person being told has a degree of choice. It could be that this difference reflects an understanding in GY society where no person can ‘make’ another one do something. Similarly it may be that the absence of a process for asking permission reflect values deeply embedded in the society, such as a clear understanding of mutual obligation and of what was allowed. If so and if those values are not maintained in the current society GY people live in, then perhaps those grammatical patterns need to be changed to reflect current society. I merely raise the issue here and do not address it further since it is not directly related to the formation of new words.



### **2.2.3 Word creation in a reviving language**

In this section I begin by discussing the reasons for not borrowing from English and then look at the advantages of composite words. After considering the standardisation that occurs in language revival I list a series of guidelines for word creation.

#### *2.2.3.1 Reasons for not borrowing from English*

While all languages borrow from other languages the situation of GY means it is not an appropriate strategy for it to borrow substantially from English. GY is a little used language being revived largely to enhance group identity and pride. The people involved are mainly monolingual English speakers. The situation in GY has changed from the years when it was still healthy and widely spoken and borrowed English words in an adapted form. To use English to any extent in current GY revival will hinder the purposes of revival. This has been recognised by other similar groups. Those involved in creating new Maori words have now decided to not to borrow from English. Harlow, (1999:11) says:

‘About the only thing on which everyone working on new terminology agrees on is the puristic injunction, thou shalt not borrow from English. However, even in that there is disagreement with some people even attempting to undo earlier borrowing.’

The Hawaiian Mamaka Kaiao (Komike Hua‘olelo (Lexicon Committee)1998:introduction [the pages are not numbered]) has taken a similar position, putting borrowing from English very low on the list of sources for new words. Even groups which do not have English as the local major language have rejected borrowing, for instance Iceland has decided not to borrow from other languages (Hock, 1996:18) and France is generally reluctant to do so.

While healthy, widely spoken languages such as Italian or German may borrow English words their situation is of a language which is the first language of 40 million or more people and is linked to a sovereign nation. These languages contrast with GY in already having a vast lexicon to cover most common situations and so the potential for borrowing is much less. Also since English is not the first language of the German and Italian speakers borrowed words will generally be phonologically adapted rather than used with their English pronunciation. More will be said about borrowing later.

Borrowing from other Australian languages is different from borrowing from English. If words are borrowed from nearby languages which share a considerable part of their vocabulary with GY it is quite possible that in fact GY did use the word previously but it has not been recorded. There are considerable phonotactic similarities between many Australian languages and so usually little if any adaptation of the borrowed word is needed. The greatest difference however is socio-linguistic. To borrow a word from English is to reinforce the dominance of English. When a word is borrowed from another Australian language there is no risk that the borrowing will contribute to a lesser status for GY.

It is clear that GY, for the foreseeable future, will not have the lexicon to cover specialised topics but it does have a basic lexicon. The way to encourage greater use of GY may be to use a few specialised English words in GY speech. The more common English words will gradually be replaced if the GY lexicon grows. This pattern is illustrated in a welcome speech that Walgett schools use– *Gulbiyay school-gu ngiyaningu*. – ‘welcome school-allative our (plural)’ – ‘Welcome to our school’. While GY may soon adopt a word for school there are many other English words which are rarely used and for which it is not appropriate for GY to develop an equivalent. There may also be a small number of words that have achieved ‘world wide’ status, such as ‘computer’, ‘cappuccino’, ‘pizza’ and ‘pasta’, that it may be better for GY to borrow, with phonological adaptation, rather than to come up with new words.

### *2.2.3.2 Composite words are easier to learn*

In language revival anything that can legitimately be done to make the path of rebuilding the language easier needs to be adopted. Many new words will need to be developed and learnt if GY is to be used with any fluency, so anything that makes that development and learning easier is to be encouraged. It is easier to create derived or composite words rather than to come up with totally new forms. Also derived or composite words are also easier to learn. For instance once the processes are known it is easy to form ‘baker’ and ‘bakery’ from ‘bake’ and that set of three words is much easier to learn than ‘cook (verb)’, ‘chef’ and ‘kitchen’ which have no formal relationship.

Since this topic is a major part of the thesis I will now clarify some terminology. The major part of the thesis is about processes which result in morphologically complex words. Most

of these are formed either by suffixing or compounding. I use the term ‘composite words’ to refer to these morphologically complex words (e.g. eat-able, weapon-ise-ation, work-shop) and the terms ‘morpheme’ and ‘element’ for their components. The term ‘compound’ is reserved for composite words which contain more than one free or bound roots (such as ‘over-come’).

A major advantage of composite words is that they are easier to learn than non-composite ones. Speakers will often know the components of the composite word and will often have a good idea of its meaning. This is not true of non-composite words. Therefore the use of composite new words is preferable because it makes the path of language learning easier. Some examples from English and GY illustrate how common composite words are. The Pocket Macquarie Dictionary (Blair, 1982:637) has more than sixty compounds beginning with ‘over’, (meaning ‘above’, ‘on top of’, ..) and there are many words that end with ‘over’. The dictionary comments that the compounds with ‘over’ are ‘mostly self-explanatory’. Even when they are not, as with ‘overheads’ = ‘general cost of running a business’ or ‘overboard’ = ‘over the side of a ship’ the composite word is easier to learn than some totally new wordform because the formemes do have a link to the meaning, even if the link is not a transparent one. There are many other common formemes in English - ‘bi-’ = ‘2’, suffixes such as ‘-able’, ‘-er’, ‘-ward’ = ‘direction of’ (toward, forward, sideways, upwards...) and many many more.

Composite words are very common in GY, as the examples below show. However because of the limited lexicon and the lack of historical and current knowledge of the language word elements will not be as easy to find as in English. As people continue working with GY language it is to be expected that more elements will be recognised.

#### 2.2.3.2.1 *Composite words which include garra/garral*

There are many words that include *garra* – ‘a crack’, which is related to *garra-li* – ‘cut’ and ‘block (a spear with a shield)’ and to *garral* – probably ‘instrument for cutting’. In the following words the use of the morpheme *garra(l)*- is clear:

<u>composite word</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>analysis</u>
<i>nhan-garra</i>	‘ring neck parrot’	‘back of neck’-garra; a bird which has a yellow line around the back of its neck.
<i>garra-garraa-ndi</i>		‘a lizard which lives in the cracks in the soil’. This may also involve the circumstantial suffix <i>-di</i> .

<i>garra-garraa</i>	literally ‘cut’	and with a specialised meaning ‘mown, clipped’
<i>dhina-garral</i>	‘poison’	‘foot’-garral
<i>dhina-garral-awaa</i>	‘clever man’	‘poison’-awaa = who knows how to make and use the poison. (-awaa is discussed later)
<i>garra-bilaa</i>	a place name	derived from the fact that the ground cracks there ‘run the same way’. <i>bilaa</i> is unknown but <i>bilaabilaa</i> is ‘parallel’.
<i>garra-duul</i>	a place name	meaning ‘cracked’; - <i>duul</i> is used at time to mean ‘one’
<i>dhuyu-garral</i>	‘worm’	‘snake’-garral
<i>garra-buulii</i>	a nickname	<i>buulii</i> – ‘whirlwind’

The relation of the word and the morphemes used in it can be quite indirect, so while the following words contain *garra* it may well be that the relationship, if any, of the word to *garra/garra-li* will never be known since the etymology has been lost. It also may be that in some cases the relationship is purely accidental (as in ‘bus’ and ‘bustle’). The bird names *maanggiwarraywarraymal* (see 2.2.1) ‘seagull’ but literally ‘bringer of mussels’ comes from a story and shows how indirect the relation of the name and components is.

The following words may be composites including *garra(l)*:-

<u>composite word</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>analysis</u>
<i>garra-wa-li</i> and possibly <i>garra-ma-li</i>	‘keep, retain’	(- <i>wa-li</i> and - <i>ma-li</i> are productive verb suffixes.)
<i>garra-wal</i>	‘store, keeping place’	cf <i>garra-wa-li</i>
<i>gana garra-n-bali</i>	‘contradict’	<i>gana</i> – ‘liver’; - <i>ba-li</i> has a number of uses including as a delocutive suffix, so <i>garra-n-ba-li</i> could be something like ‘cut-say’ and so ‘contradict’.
<i>garran.garraan</i>	‘solid, stuck tight’	
<i>garra-y</i>	‘frightened’	
<i>gindjul-garra</i>	‘snail’	<i>gindjul</i> refers to some sort of slime.
<i>garra-y-maay</i>	‘mother-in-law’	may be related to <i>garra-li</i> – ‘block’ since mother-in-laws and son-in-laws were not allowed to speak to each other. <i>maay</i> is unexplained.
<i>dhiyaa-garra-?y</i>	‘bed’	may be a verb, ‘to prepare a bed’; <i>dhiya-</i> – ‘lift up’ (see below)
<i>garra-wii</i>	a plant also known as <i>badha</i> ; <i>badha</i> also = ‘bitter’; <i>wii</i> – ‘fire’, ‘smart’	
<i>wa-garraa</i>	‘hatchet’	(which has to do with ‘cutting’)
<i>garra-y</i>	‘choke’ (intransitive)	
<i>garra-agaa</i>	‘crane’ (a bird)	
<i>gan.garra</i>	‘white backed swallow’ (a bird) (this bird has a split tail, cf ‘cut’, ‘crack’)	
<i>garra-ayaa</i>	‘restless flycatcher’ (a bird)	

<i>man.garraan</i>	‘black kite’ (a bird) (also has a ‘split/forked’ tail)
<i>garra-rr</i>	‘frog species’ (perhaps lives in the cracks in the soil?)
<i>gilang-garra</i>	‘Darling pea’ (a plant)
<i>garra-yarray</i>	‘wild peach’

The number of words in the lists above that are semantically related to *garra/garra-li* gives some indication of how many composites can be formed using one word.

Below are composite words which include *guna* – ‘faeces, shit’. The relationship of the composite word to the word *guna* are clear in the first section.

<u>compound</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>analysis</u>
<i>guna-galaa, gunagilaa</i>	‘toilet’	<i>giil</i> – ‘urine’
<i>guna-gi</i>	‘defecate’	
<i>guna-mbaa</i>	‘long necked shag’	a water bird
<i>guna-mbaay</i>	‘wood duck’	these two leave a lot of <i>guna</i> around.
<i>guna-dha</i>	‘boggy’	
<i>guna-mbil</i>	‘Coonamble’	‘guna-with lot’ – origin of name ‘Coonamble’, according to Arthur Dodd
<i>guna-gunaa</i>	‘any brownish colour, shit colour’	

The relationship, if any, is not clear in the following:

<i>guna-ba</i>	‘bora, initiation ground’
<i>guna-gala</i>	‘sky’
<i>guna-yilaa</i>	‘plain’
<i>guna-m-bali</i>	‘small possum’

These examples illustrate that composite words are common in GY as will many other examples throughout the thesis, so the use of composites as new words is consistent both with traditional GY and with making new GY words easier to learn. The examples also show how many words can be made with a relatively small number of morphemes and so how much composite words simplify the learning of language.

As well as keeping the number of components small, there are other ways that language reduces the randomness of the link between wordform and meaning. One is onomatopoeia. This is common in GY bird names. *Guwaay-djii-djii* is the ‘pied butcher bird’. The name is literally ‘say-djii-djii’ and sounds very much like the bird’s call. The name ‘willy wagtail’ (a bird) - *dhirridhirri* – is also onomatopoeic. Linking a story to a name also makes it easier to remember. The name of the ‘red-capped robin’ - *gunii-buu* = ‘mother-testicles’ derives from a story and it is also onomatopoeic.

### *2.2.3.3 Standardisation*

In the process of recording and reviving a language there are a number of ways in which the language is simplified. Pre-invasion GY was undoubtedly a complex set of dialects, with variations in lexicon and grammar occurring across the area. It would be expected that the dialects were also changing and had varieties of styles appropriate for different social contexts, including special languages for initiation ceremonies. That complexity is part of many languages and particularly those which are long established and which have localised groups.

While some variations do occur in the lexicon of contemporary GY most of the previous variation has been lost. In a situation of language revival that simplification is actually an advantage. It is considerably easier to list one word for the whole area than to have a number of words and any standardisation of the lexicon simplifies the production of resources and the teaching of GY. In fact some suppression of variation is inevitable when any language becomes standardised and written. This is particularly so in GY since the material used in language revival is mostly produced by a small group. If spoken GY grows in use some local variation will again undoubtedly arise as different areas develop their own usages.

Other changes that will come with language revival include a degree of leveling of the grammar. In any language exceptions to generalised grammatical rules are often long-standing features of the language and any new material follows the dominant paradigm. For example English has many irregular plurals (mouse – mice; man – men) but any new words in English will almost certainly have plurals formed with ‘s’. In GY most exceptions to rules will not have been recorded or have not been recognised, so current GY is a very regular language.

### **2.2.4 Other guidelines for word formation**

Below I list some other guidelines to be followed in forming new words. At times some of the guidelines and principles conflict and it is a matter of judgment as to which ones are followed. For example it is difficult to both form composite words and keep words short.

#### *2.2.4.1 At an appropriate rate and words-as-needed*

Words will be coined in response to a declared need for them. The rate of production will also depend on the skilled resources available and on the regularity of meetings at which GY people approve of proposed new words.

#### *2.2.4.2 General words*

General rather than specialised words should be developed. These can then be qualified or compounded as needed the way English does. An example is ‘room’ and the compounds ‘classroom, bedroom, etc’. There is no need in current GY for separate words for the many types of vehicles (car, station wagon, utility, ...), all that is needed now is a word for ‘vehicle’. By contrast Maori is a much more widely used language. It is appropriate for Maori people to develop a range of ‘vehicle words’. A Maori version of the periodic table has been developed and there are Maori words for all the positions in a Rugby Union team (Mataira 1997:93). There is currently no need for these in GY. Nor does GY need much of the technical Maori vocabulary that is being developed as it becomes one of the legal languages in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

#### *2.2.4.3 Composite words*

As pointed out above a major advantage of composite words is that they are much easier to learn since they build on simpler words or morphemes which are likely to be already known. Their disadvantage is that they can be long.

#### *2.2.4.4 Short words*

Words which are long can sometimes be difficult to use. English has many words which have been shortened over the years: (omni)‘bus’; (motor) ‘car’(riage); The more commonly used the words are the more relevant this principle is. It is particularly relevant to words such as numbers which are often used in compound forms. If words for ‘one’ to ‘ten’ are long then translation of numbers such as ‘two hundred and fifty six’ will be extremely cumbersome. This principle needs to be balanced with the general preference for composite words, which will tend to be longer.

#### *2.2.4.5 Avoid excessive homonymy*

Hock and Joseph (1996:235ff) point out that languages tend to avoid excessive homonymy. Having the same word form with different meanings can be confusing. The Maori

Language Commission has applied this principle in using a number of different causative prefixes (Te Taura Whiri, c1996:8). The common causative suffix is ‘whaka-’. Where the use of ‘whaka-’ creates a homonym of an existing word the commission has often decided to use other, lesser-known causative suffixes, ‘whaa-’ and ‘haa-’.

#### 2.2.4.6 *Avoid synonymy*

Languages tend to gradually differentiate the meanings of potential synonyms – for example ‘brethren’ and ‘brothers’ were once synonyms in English but have now been differentiated. In GY one application of this principle is to recommend one word for use where synonyms have been recorded – for instance GY currently uses *baagii* as ‘grandmother’. In time another meaning may be developed for *ngaagii*, the other word recorded as ‘grandmother’.

#### 2.2.4.7 *Word preferencing/standardising*

Where a number of GY words might be used for the concept it will help if one is adopted across the area – as with *baagii* in 2.2.4.6. There are a number of words for ‘brother’ in the GY wordlists: *dhagaan*, *dhaya* – ‘older brother’, *galumaay* – ‘younger brother’, *galduman* – ‘brother’ (used in Walgett). Since GY people have generally not maintained the distinction between older and younger brother it is much simpler in a language revival situation if one word is chosen with the same meaning as the English term ‘brother’. *Dhagaan* has been chosen – it remains to be seen if it becomes the widely used term.

#### 2.2.4.8 *Modify or reverse decisions*

If words are adopted and for some reason then decided against, they can also, to some extent, be dropped. In Walgett the language program developed *wanda-gu dhamarr* – ‘white-man’s bronzewing pigeon’ as a name for feral pigeons. It was later realised that this pattern is typical English bird names but totally atypical of GY bird names so that word has been dropped from use. The initial phonological adaptation of ‘coffee’ was *gadhi*. However once it was realised that English /f/ was replaced by GY /b/ this was changed to *gabi*.

### 2.2.5 **New words recently adopted in Yuwaalaraay**

This section details most of the new words adopted by the Yuwaalaraay language programs in recent years. The process for adoption of words is described in the section 2.3 on decision making. There are a number of situations in which the desire or need for new



words arises. These include various GY classes, greeting, ceremonial occasions and when people are looking for GY names.

After GY classes have learnt some individual words and songs there is often the desire to construct sentences, to have some degree of conversation in GY and to use GY for classroom directions. In some adult classes there was an attempt to use GY for ‘morning tea’ conversations and so the need arose for words such as ‘coffee’ and ‘cup’. A number of other words needed in this context already existed in GY. In many classes word such as ‘pen’, ‘book’, ‘write’, ‘table’ and ‘door’ are commonly used but had no GY equivalents. The GY number system had words for ‘one’ to ‘four’ but nothing practical beyond that.

Many people have asked me and others involved in the programs for greeting and politeness words such as ‘goodbye’, ‘thanks’ and ‘see you later’. GY is increasingly being used for ceremonial welcomes and so words for ‘Mr’, ‘Mrs’ and ‘welcome’ were asked for. GY students have been asked to perform at the openings of a women’s legal centre, an employment office, a regional meeting, a meeting of school principals, the launch of a cooking book and the opening of a bridge on the Kamilaroi Highway. Often introductory speeches in GY and special songs were prepared for the occasion. This made the need for words such as ‘meeting’, ‘principal’ and ‘law’ obvious. There are regular requests for GY names, including names for publications, a preschool and a multi-purpose hall.

The table below contains new words adopted by the Yuwaalaraay programs in recent years. For words marked ‘◇’ there are further comments after the table on the source of some of the words or on the process used in coining them. A small number of words have also been adopted in the Gamilaraay area.

Table 2-1: Some recently adopted Yuwaalaraay words

<b>new word</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>origin</b>
<i>wiyayl</i> ◇	‘pen’, ‘pencil’,	broadening the meaning of <i>wiyayl</i> – ‘porcupine quill’
<i>gayrra</i> ◇	‘electricity’	<i>dhun.gayrra</i> - ‘lightning’
<i>gayrragumbirri</i>	‘computer’	<i>gayrra</i> – ‘electricity’ and <i>gumbiRi</i> – ‘brain’

<i>gabi</i> ◊	‘coffee’	English ‘coffee’
<i>bidjiirr</i>	‘biscuit’	English ‘biscuit’
<i>guwiirr widja</i>	‘cake’	<i>guwiirr</i> – ‘sweet’ (given by Ted Fields) and <i>widja</i> – ‘bread’
<i>guwiirr gungan</i>	‘soft drink’	<i>guwiirr</i> – ‘sweet’ and <i>gungan</i> – ‘water’
<i>dhii-man.garr</i>	‘tea bag’	<i>dhii</i> – ‘tea’ and <i>man.garr</i> – ‘bag’
<i>gaala</i>	‘mug’	revival of previous GY use
<i>banigan</i>	‘cup’	English ‘pannikin’. Its meaning is now restricted to ‘cup’.
<i>wirri</i>	‘plate’	extension of <i>wirri</i> – ‘honey dish’
<i>man.ga</i> ◊	‘table’	back-formation of <i>man.gaman.ga</i> – ‘flattened’
<i>badha gali</i>	‘beer’	<i>badha</i> – ‘bitter’ and <i>gali</i> – ‘water’

#### Notes:

The word *wiyayl* - ‘pen’, ‘pencil’ was the first new word created by recent Yuwaalaraay programs. It was derived during adult language classes at Goodooga in 1998. It involves broadening the meaning of *wiyayl* – ‘porcupine quill’

*Gayrra* - ‘electricity’ was derived by assuming that *dhun.gayrra* - ‘lightning’ is a compound of *dhun* is ‘?tail, penis’ and *gayrra*, so that *gayrra* referred to something like ‘electricity’. *Gayrra* was then given this new meaning. It was then used as part of the word for ‘computer’.

*Gadhi* was the initial adaptation of the English ‘coffee’ but it was later recognised that GY replaced the English ‘f’ with ‘b’, and so *gadhi* was no longer used and *gabi* was adopted.

The word *gaala* was used by GY people to mean a mug made from a tin, e.g. milk tin, jam tin and a wire or hoop iron handle. The meaning was broadened to be a general term for ‘mug’.

The word *man.ga* - ‘table’ is a back-formation from *man.gaman.ga* – ‘flattened’. *Man.gaman.ga* is not found in previous wordlists but occurs on tape 8186. When discussing *man.gaman.ga* Uncle Ted Fields remembered *man.gaman.ga* – ‘bark lizard’ and *man.gamurruma* – ‘flycatcher lizard’, and thought that *man.ga* had to do with flatness.

The new and proposed numbers come from a number of sources. The Yuwaalaraay word for hand, *maa*, was adopted as the word for ‘five’. Milson (no date) has a list which includes most of the numbers ‘one’ to ‘ten’. There was a list of ‘Aboriginal’ words for ‘one’ to ‘ten’ at Walgett Primary School. The origin of these words is unknown. The words on these lists were adapted to make words for ‘six’ to ‘ten’. A number of possible words were constructed from these lists. Two principles in forming those words were that they were to have a maximum of two syllables and that no two words of ‘one’ to ‘ten’ should have the same first syllable. Where there were a number of options for an English number Uncle Ted Fields then selected one. The proposed words for ‘hundred’, ‘thousand’ and ‘million’ have been adapted from the words Kurna people adopted as part of their language revival (Amery, 2000). Permission has been obtained from them to adapt those words.

Table 2-2: GY numbers

number	word	source
1.	<i>milan</i> (Yuwaalaraay)	existing word
	<i>maal</i> (Gamilaraay)	existing word
2.	<i>bulaarr</i>	existing word
3.	<i>gulibaa</i>	existing word
4.	<i>buligaa</i>	existing word
5.	<i>maa</i>	<i>maa</i> - ‘hand’ (YW)
6.	<i>yuli</i>	abbreviation of Milson word
7.	<i>guulay</i>	abbreviation of Milson word
8.	<i>galay</i>	Walgett Primary School list
9.	<i>mirraal</i>	Walgett Primary School list
10.	<i>banay</i>	abbreviation of Milson word
100	<i>*barriga</i>	adaptation of Kurna ‘partika’
1000	<i>*dhawadha</i>	adaptation of Kurna ‘tauatta’
million	<i>*wiwurra</i>	adaptation of Kurna ‘wiwurra’

With the ongoing revival work an increasing number of words are being asked for. It is likely that an increasing number of new words will be regularly adopted in future.

### **2.3 Decision making about new words and other issues**

There are two major principles in making decisions about new words in GY. The first is that the ownership of the language and so the ultimate decision about adopting a word rests with GY people. The second is that new words developed should be consistent with traditional GY language. The principles concern ownership of the language and knowledge about it. It is important to realise that these two at present largely rest with different groups. The ownership of the language rests with the GY community but the knowledge is largely with specialists who are generally not GY people. However there is a small and growing group of younger GY people who are involved in language programs who are developing knowledge and skills. Also there is no mechanism at present for the GY community as a whole to make decisions about language so those decisions tend to be made by small groups of elders and language workers associated with language programs.

Below I give a number of examples of different applications of these principles. The role of the community can range from acceptance of something that is proposed, to partnership in the decision making process, to being the only group involved. The role of the community is currently moving from the initial, more passive role, to the more controlling and initiating role.

There have been a number of major developments in GY which are the product of linguists and which have been accepted and used by the GY community. These include the currently used orthography, the syntax described by Williams and the published wordlists. While there was some consultation with GY people about these, their role in them was relatively minor other than as suppliers of information. This is largely due to the technical nature of the developments.

On the other hand recent decisions about 'new words' have been much more cooperative. This reflects the fact that language programs are now situated in communities and Aboriginal people are involved in them. The procedure generally has been that a need for the word arises— words such as 'coffee', 'pen', 'book', 'plate', or a number system. A discussion usually follows involving Aboriginal language workers, elder, linguist and others. Generally a number of possibilities for the new word are found and Uncle Ted Fields decides which to use. The next step is to see if the word is actually used. The first

word so made, *wiyayl*- ‘pen’ (extension of *wiyayl*- ‘echidna quill’) is now in common use. Other later words such as *guwiirr gungan* – ‘sweet water’ = ‘soft drink’, *wirri* – ‘plate’ (extension of *wirri* – ‘bark dish’) and the numbers are currently less commonly used.

Decisions which involved even greater community initiative and control have been a number of songs that have been written and recorded. The first song was a version of ‘Ears, eyes, hands and feet’ composed by Auntie Rose Fernando (an elder), mainly for young children. Other songs were composed at adult GY courses or as part of other teaching and the majority of those involved in composing them were GY people. Some are original compositions (*Maliyan.gaalay Ngay* - ‘My Morning Star’) and others translations (*Warraya Nganunda* - ‘Stand by Me’). Many of these songs are commonly used in teaching and are sung by GY children. Like the other materials they have received the approval of elders and other community members and the wider community has shown its acceptance by using them.

The GY community has also been the main force in initiating most of the language programs, particularly the more recent ones.

A final example of community control of language is a word that has been developed within the GY community. *Dhundhaygal* – ‘penis-head’ is a calque of the English ‘dickhead’ and its use is spreading in Walgett and Lightning Ridge. Many aspects of language are ultimately democratic and decided by those who use it and others really only provide resources and suggestions which may or may not become used language.

There are decisions which are not about technical linguistics but are crucial for language work, such as whether to publish materials (such as books, CDs or internet material), who should teach GY and who should be taught it. These questions have been decided by the GY community. In a number of situations over the years the community has agreed to have GY material published and has accepted that in certain circumstances non-Aboriginal people can teach GY. The question of including non-Aboriginal students in GY classes has had a mixed reception, with some accepting their presence and others having classes only for GY students, at least initially. These decisions have usually involved a public meeting or meetings of local Aboriginal groups associated with education. The GY community also

controls other areas. It is the desire for language in the GY community that leads to them supporting programs, leads to individuals making personal sacrifices to be involved in programs and leads Aboriginal bodies such as ATSIC to support the programs. Aboriginal organisations involved have a substantial degree of control since they hold most of the purse strings and have the power to question or veto anything that they see as unsatisfactory.

It may be that in the future a formal 'Language Committee' will be formed which will have a major role in new GY, particularly in grammatical and lexical questions. There is a lot to be said for such a group but if and when and how it will come into being are not predictable. In the meantime there are structures which provide an opportunity for discussion and decision, primarily the actual language programs, but also adult GY courses and GY conferences. In the Walgett program there is regular interaction between elders, language workers and linguist at weekly classes. Adult GY courses provide a forum for a wider group of GY people to be involved in such learning and decision making. There have also been GY conferences where major issues associated with language have been discussed. A major decision was that Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay would borrow from each other in areas where one of the languages was lacking.

## **2.4 Summary**

The main criteria for selecting word formation strategies is that they assist in the process of GY revival and its main aim, increased GY pride and identity. The practical application of this is that current word production must be consistent with traditional GY word production and it must assist in the process of language revival. It follows that the major word formation strategies will be those which produce composite words and these are nominalisation, verbalisation and compounding. Chapter Three considers nominalisation, Chapter Four verbalisation and Chapter Five looks at compounding, borrowing and some minor word formation strategies. The main source for borrowing will be the closely related 'no-having' languages, then other Australian languages. While word creation by methods such as abbreviation or blending is not strongly recommended it is appropriate at times.

### **3 Forming new Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay verbs**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The main focus in this chapter is to develop processes for producing new Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay (henceforth GY) verb stems. Because of the minimal amount of GY currently spoken the only currently available verbs are those listed in the main contemporary written sources, that is the approximately 230 verbs listed in Giacon (1999), which is a compilation of Williams (1980) and Austin (1992, 1994). As GY revival continues the need for new verbs is increasing and so appropriate ways of forming new verbs are needed. New verbs can come from a number of sources. The main source is the creation of new compound verb stems with a secondary source being to borrow from other Aboriginal languages or from English. The reasons for giving preference to compounding are outlined in sections 2.2.3.2 and 3.2. A small number of verbs have been found by re-examination of the historical source materials but this is the least important source of new verbs and does not so much give 'new' verbs as 'rediscovered' ones. Apart from verb stems a number of new verb suffixes are discussed. Some of them are found in the historical GY material and a number of Wangaaybuwan suffixes are considered for possible borrowing into GY.

It is important to remember that GY is a relatively poorly resourced language. A major source of information during research into GY has been the 'Grammar of Wangaaybuwan' produced by Tamsin Donaldson in 1980. Wangaaybuwan is closely related to GY. Much of the knowledge of GY is from tapes made in the 1970's, and while the informants were capable, they were by no means fully fluent and they did not have the sort of analytical approach that Tamsin Donaldson found in Liza Kennedy, one of her main informants. It was Mrs Kennedy's examples and analysis that made explicit the form and meaning of many of the components of the Wangaaybuwan compound verbs. The GY historical material is limited and while the GY published material has been a vital resource for language revival there are errors in those documents, some of which are pointed out throughout this work. There are many possibilities for errors. When the material is initially recorded it can be misinterpreted or mistranscribed or the informant may have limited knowledge. Errors can also occur when earlier material is interpreted and summarised and

transferred to a different orthography. The errors can be about the form or meaning of a word, about its word class or about syntax.

The quality of the information available has implications for the amount of evidence needed to justify a linguistic decision. Ideally decisions about syntax and lexicon should be based on conclusive evidence, but when the evidence is inconclusive, as in much of GY, the options are to make no judgment, or to make a best guess, based on what is available. Historical grammar might not comment on areas of a language for which there is little information, or might present the evidence and a range of interpretations. However, when the aim is to revive the language, as much syntax and lexicon as possible is needed, and so words (and syntax) will be adopted on the basis of less than perfect evidence because the reviving language needs them.

A related issue is the level of knowledge available about neighbouring languages. Apart from the use of single words they too are no longer spoken, but there is a substantial amount of archival material in manuscripts and tapes. However for comparative study that material needs to be organised into dictionaries and grammars. There is no substantial dictionary for any of the ‘no-having’ languages, and Wangaaybuwan is the only one of them with a substantial grammatical description. This means that the current possibilities for comparative work are very limited, but they will increase greatly if further work is done on making the historical material accessible.

Section 3.2 establishes reasons for assuming that many GY verbs are structured, at least historically, through compounding processes. Wangaaybuwan verb morphology is then considered since it has been a major guide to studying GY verbs. (GY verb morphology is summarised in 1.2.3.) This is followed by a list of the elements that can be used in forming GY verbs, and some examples of possible new verbs are given.

Before looking at new words I briefly mention ‘rediscovered’ and ‘corrected’ GY words. Some words have been rediscovered as part of the re-examination of the historical sources. These sources consist of wordlists and tapes and the re-examination is an ongoing process which yields more information each time the sources are revisited and seen from a more informed perspective. Transcripts of most tapes have been prepared and these have been the



major source of new information. Examples of previously unlisted verbs that have come to light are: *dhubaanma-li* – ‘tell’, *garrawa-li* – ‘store’ and *baayama-li* – ‘spin’. The review of historical material has also resulted in a number of changes to previously listed verbs, for example from *\*yinaa-y* to *yanaa-y* for ‘walk, go’ and from *\*yilaa-li* to *yulaa-li* for ‘tie up.’ The review has also led to newly listed suffixes, to clarified meanings for previously listed suffixes, and to changes in form – see for example the ‘reciprocal suffix’ (1.2.3.3.2). A small number of further new stems and suffixes may yet be found from these sources.

The criteria for identifying a morpheme are that it occurs with an identifiable meaning and form. For bound morphemes this usually means that they occur attached to already recognised morphemes. For instance *yanaa-y* is ‘go’, *yanaa-y-n-bi-li* – ‘let go’ is evidence for the existence of a suffix *-bi-li*. However not every occurrence of the form *-bi-li* need be an occurrence of the suffix. There may in fact be a number of homophonous suffixes. The form *-bi-li* may also occur in a verb without it being a suffix at all. In some instances a morpheme can be used metaphorically, and so can be difficult to recognise. For example the Wangaaybuwan *bundi-li* is ‘to get someone down, make them depressed’, and its derivation is not obvious. It is formed from *-bun* – ‘change’ and *-di-li* – ‘do with foot’. It is clear that there will be a range of reliability in the verb-forming morphemes arrived at, particularly with respect to any metaphorical uses they may have.

### **3.2 Evidence for the composite structure of GY verb stems**

There are number of ways new words, and so new verbs, can be formed in GY, including borrowing. However it is recommended that the major method used be to form compound verb stems since the use of such stems satisfies the two main criteria for appropriate word formation – that the methods used are part of traditional GY, and that the words produced be easy to learn. Compound stems are found in GY and many other Australian languages, with often the majority of verb stems being compounds. Also compounds are relatively easy to learn because the elements are often already known.

I now briefly consider compound verbs in Australian languages including Wangaaybuwan and GY. Dixon (1980:408) discusses the formation of polysyllabic verb roots in modern Australian languages. He considers that the vast majority of proto-Australian verbs were mono-syllabic and that polysyllabic roots are historically multimorphemic, sometimes

including modifications such as the deletion of a syllable. So, historically, most current Aboriginal verb roots are compounds, even if often the original elements can no longer be separated or assigned a meaning. In current languages the degree of obvious compounding varies greatly. Dixon (1980:280) contrasts Dyirbal, with only a handful of compounds and Warlpiri, which is predominantly compounding.

Donaldson (1980:152) states that Wangaaybuwan has 270 monomorphemic verb roots and a smaller number of compounds. The roots she counts as compounds consist of a bound modifier and bound verb root and are discussed in more detail below in the section on Wangaaybuwan verb morphology (3.3). However they by no means exhaust the number of clearly compound verb roots in Wangaaybuwan. This is because Donaldson's definition is in terms of currently recognised and used stem elements, and not in terms of the historical structure of the words. She counts as compounding elements only those which are currently productive. One verb which is monomorphemic by her definition is *winanga-li* – 'hear, listen', but it is clearly historically a compound of *bina* – 'ear' (lenited here to *wina*) and 'see' which is *ngaa-y* in Wangaaybuwan and *nga/nya* in proto-Australian. Further evidence that *winanga-li* is a compound is that many Australian languages form sensory verbs by adding body parts to a verb, most commonly the verb for 'see'.

Further, Donaldson gives evidence that many Wangaaybuwan verb stems are in historical terms composite. The l class contains the majority of the Wangaaybuwan verbs, and Donaldson discusses (1980:209ff) the final syllables of these verbs, and states 'the conclusion suggested ... is that the final syllables of (all) verbs of the L class originated as verb forming auxiliaries, .. either bound monosyllabic roots ... or free monosyllabic verbs.' In other words she suggests that historically all Wangaaybuwan l class verbs are compounds. Many, but not all, l class roots in GY can be similarly analysed. This has been discussed in 1.2.3.3.

So from both a broad Australian perspective and from local comparative study there are indications that most polysyllabic verb roots are historically multimorphemic. Many languages currently form compound verbs stems, for example Warlpiri (Nash 1986:47ff, Simpson 1991:437ff), Kayardild (Evans 1995:290ff), Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1883:120f) and Wangaaybuwan (above). It can therefore be reasonably expected that traditional GY

also formed compounds, and there is internal evidence for that, particularly in the tape material. That this is not prominent in the written material may well be for the reasons discussed in 1.3.1 –to capture the finer points of a language requires that fluent, willing informants work with talented and trained observers who have considerable time for the work. At no stage of the GY investigations did this occur. The most comprehensive material is from Williams but knowledge of the language had lessened considerably when she investigated it and she did not have time to examine many aspects of the language. It is clear from the tapes that Williams is often looking for particular grammatical features such as inclusive pronouns or a particular suffix, but she does not look for information on verb compounding, so even though her informants did have some knowledge of verb compounding it was only coincidentally recorded in the course of working on other topics.

Many GY verb stems are historically compounds. As in Wangaaybuwan (see above) , *winanga-li* is ‘hear, listen’, and a compound. The verbs *ngarra-li* (Yuwaalaraay - henceforth YW) and *ngami-li* (Gamilaraay - henceforth GM) are ‘see’, and these clearly include *nga/nya* – ‘see’ (proto Australian), in the first case with a common verb final syllable, *-rra-*, and in the second with a body part morpheme (*mil* – ‘eye’). GY has *buma-li* – ‘hit’, which combines *bu-* ‘hit’ and *ma-* ‘hand, do with hand’, also two common Australian forms. There are other obvious compounds, but it is also to be expected that many other compound stems in GY cannot be currently analysed because we do not know enough about the historical morphemes used in their formation.

The following paragraphs include examples, largely from the tapes, which show that GY also had an active compounding system, with speakers having at their disposal a number of morphemes that were regularly used in forming verb stems. These parallel the stem forming morphemes of Wangaaybuwan discussed later in 3.3.2. It may well be that further examination of the sources, with a specific focus on compounds, will result in more examples being found.

The verb *balu-gi* is ‘die’, and a number of forms occur on the tapes for ‘put out (the fire)’: *balubunma-li*, *baluburra-li*, *baluburranba-li*, and *baluwa-li*. All the morphemes suffixed to *balu-* are also found in other verbs and most are discussed in section 3.4.5. Since the informants give four similar verbs with the one meaning it is a logical conclusion that there

was not one fixed form for ‘put out fire’, but rather a range of bound verb forms that the speaker could choose to attach to *balu* to focus on different aspects of the action.

The common verb for ‘wipe’ is *gaanba-li*. However on tape 3994A it also occurs as *gaanbi-li*. Again *-ba-li* and *-bi-li* are both stem forming elements, so both verbs are actually compounds. (*-ba-li* and *-bi-li* will be discussed in detail below in 3.4.5)

The verb ‘wash’ is translated as *wagirrma-li*, *wagirrba-li* (rarely), *wagirrbuma-li* and *wagirrbama-li*. The various forms attached to *wagirr* also show that the informants were aware of a number of options for forming a new compound. English verbs were adapted into GY by suffixing a syllable including /i/ (typically *i* or *irr*) and then adding *-ma-li*. (or rarely *-ba-li*), so it is likely that *wagirr* is from the English ‘wash’, but the ‘g’ is problematic since sibilants in English words are generally rendered by laminal stops in GY, ‘dh’ or ‘dj’. See 5.2.2. This however does not effect the key point, that four verb compounding elements are found on *wagirr*.

The existence of a range of forms for these verbs points to an active compounding system. With such a system there are a number of ways of conceptualising an event, and so various ways of forming an appropriate verb. This is illustrated in Wangaaybuwan, where (unlike in GY) compound verbs can be used to qualify other verbs, and Donaldson points out (1980:207) that ‘dig’ can be modified by compound verbs which incorporate *-ma-li* (general transitiviser) or *-ga-li* (‘pierce’). The choice depends on the speaker and how precise they want to be. In other words ‘dig’ can be classified as a general action or as a piercing action. Unfortunately in GY the analysis of the various compounding elements is a more difficult task than it was in Wangaaybuwan where Liza Kennedy pointed out the precise use and meaning of compounds.

### **3.2.1 Borrowing and calquing compound stems**

The compound nature of verb stems has implications for ‘borrowing’ such stems. The crucial difference is between monomorphemic words and compounds, and so between borrowing and calqueing. In general it is preferable to calque compounds rather than to borrow them. Some examples of potential Wangaaybuwan borrowings and calques will

illustrate this point. Wangaaybuwan has many words whose equivalents have not been recorded in GY. A few examples are:

<u>WB verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>ginima-li</i>	‘lead with hand’
<i>yarrma-li</i>	‘fool about with’
<i>waba-li</i>	‘stare, peek inquisitively’
<i>ngalamba-li</i>	‘swear at, abuse’
<i>dhalaymba-y</i>	‘poke tongue out at’
<i>wirriwa-li</i>	‘weigh down’

*Dhalay* is ‘tongue’ in both Wangaaybuwan and GY, and the suffix *-ba-y* is similar in both languages, so *\*dhalaym-ba-y* above can be calqued into GY, and its form will not change. The situation is different if GY is to use the WB *wirriwa-li*. *Wirri-* (WB) is a compounding verb morpheme glossed ‘move down’ and its cognate in GY is *wii-* (‘put down’ is *wiima-li* in GY and *wirrima-li* in WB), so the better way to use WB *wirriwa-li* in GY is to calque, replacing the *wirri-* with *wii-*, forming the new GY verb *\*wiiwa-li* – ‘weigh down’. These are set out in table form below.

<u>Wangaaybuwan verb</u>	<u>GY calque</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>dhalay-m-ba-y</i>	<i>*dhalay-m-ba-y</i>	‘poke tongue out at’
<i>wirri-wa-li</i>	<i>*wii-wa-li</i>	‘weigh down’

Another pair of cognate verb stem elements are *dhirran-* (GY) and *dhilan-* (Wangaaybuwan) – ‘shake’. Such pairs are found by comparing related words in the two languages. The only transitive GY word for ‘shake’ is *dhirranba-li*. Wangaaybuwan has compound verbs *dhilanma-li* – ‘shake-do with hand’, and *dhilan.ga-li* – ‘shake-pierce’ (this last used of wind shaking a blanket as it blows through it). The part of the verb meaning shake is *dhirran-* in GY and *dhilan-* in Wangaaybuwan. So if the Wangaaybuwan *dhilan.ga-li* were to be used in GY, the first part would be *dhirran-*. The second part is problematic, since no GY cognate of *-ga-li* has been found. The list sets out some cognate Wangaaybuwan and GY morphemes. It is not a comprehensive list, but shows the different relationships of the morphemes.

<u>Wangaaybuwan</u>	<u>GY cognate</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhalay</i>	<i>dhalay</i>	‘tongue’
<i>wirri-</i>	<i>wii-</i>	‘move down’
<i>dhilan-</i>	<i>dhirran-</i>	‘shake’

This illustrates some of the difficulties involved in borrowing/calqueing. At times the cognates of both compounding elements will be known, and calquing is easy, as in *\*dhalaymba-y* and *\*wiiwa-li* above. However there will be many cases where it will not be clear what are the GY cognates of one or both the morphemes in the source language. In those cases the best one can do is borrow the word in its present form. For instance the Wangaaybuwan *ginima-li* – ‘lead with hand’. Both WB and GY have *-ma-li* as a common verb stem element. However there is no further evidence of the meaning of *gini-* and nothing to indicate what its corresponding morpheme might be in GY. Therefore the only way *ginima-li* can be used in GY is to borrow it as *\*ginima-li* – ‘lead with hand’.

Other complications can arise. In Wangaaybuwan *muun-* ‘do to all’, is the first element in a compound verb, as in *muun-da-li* – ‘do to all-mouth’ – ‘eat all’. It refers only to the object of the verb. One could easily assume that *muun* could be borrowed into GY or that it would have a GY cognate, but GY actually has *-aaba-li* – ‘all’, which is used absolutely. It applies to the Object of a transitive verb and the Subject of an intransitive. See 1.2.3.7.2. While there is partial similarity in meaning there are differences between the application of *muun-* and *-aaba-li* and their position in the verb. In fact any Wangaaybuwan verb incorporating *muun-* does not need to be borrowed/calqued into GY since the information will be carried in GY by a suffix. For instance *muun-da-li* would be rendered by the GY *dha-l-aaba-li* – ‘eat-l-All-future’. The information carried in a compound stem, *muunda-*, in Wangaaybuwan is carried by a simple stem and verb suffix, *dha-l-aaba-*, in GY. So while at times it is appropriate to borrow or calque, at other times that is not the case.

### **3.3 Wangaaybuwan verb morphology**

As has been pointed out (section 1.1.2) Wangaaybuwan and GY are closely related languages with much more known about Wangaaybuwan. Consequently Williams (1980) used the Wangaaybuwan grammar to inform her study of YW, comparing the two languages on a number of occasions and using Wangaaybuwan paradigms in her elicitation with Arthur Dodd. In section 1.2.3.3 I have shown how the Wangaaybuwan grammar has been important in defining the l to y class change in GY verbs and in deciding that GY l class verb stems cannot end in ‘u’. The main part of this chapter investigates morphologically complex GY verb stems and again the Wangaaybuwan grammar provides a model for investigating and understanding these GY verbs. At the same time there are

significant differences between the languages, so care needs to be taken in using Wangaaybuwan as a guide to GY. The main part of this section is a summary of relevant Wangaaybuwan verb grammar but there is also some comparison of it with GY verb grammar.

In Wangaaybuwan ‘Verbal words consist of at least a root, conjugation marker and final inflection, or a root followed by a final inflection.. . . . Between the root and the final inflection may intervene a number of derivational stem-forming suffixes, transitivising, intransitivising, ‘implicative, and/or aspectual.’ (Donaldson 1980:151) The WB compound stems consist of bound modifier, followed by one of a set of bound verbal roots. An example of a compound verb is *gungun-giyi* in the following:

- (3-1) *winarr-u gungun-giyi*  
 woman-ERG with energy-PIERCE+PAST (Donaldson 1980:201)

The 21 WB bound modifiers and 13 bound verbal roots (8 transitive and 5 intransitive) (Donaldson 1980:202) form a very productive system. Parallels between this system and GY will be pointed out later in section 3.4.4. Wangaaybuwan has 3 verb classes, *y*, *l* and *rr* (There are only two free *r* class roots, both monosyllabic). There are small subclasses – *y*<sub>2</sub> and *l*<sub>2</sub>. All verb roots whose last vowel is *u* are in the *y*<sub>2</sub> conjugation, apart from *dhu-rr* – ‘prick, spear’ in the *rr* conjugation. (The distribution of GY roots ending in ‘u’ has been discussed in 1.2.3.2.) All Wangaaybuwan verbs are intrinsically transitive or intransitive. Note that the definition of transitivity is based on the ergative marking of an agent, whether or not there is an object in the sentence. There are numerous verbs, such as *ngidja-li* – ‘rain’ in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson 1980:160) which often or never have an object, but where the subject is marked ergative.

- (3-2) *yurrung-gu ngidjiyi*  
 rain-ERG rain+PAST  
 It rained.

In Wangaaybuwan transitive *l* class roots and the *rr* class roots (which are both transitive) have intransitive counterparts, derived by changing the conjugation marker or class to *y*. There are a small number of exceptions to this pattern. The verbs *winanga-li* – ‘listen, hear’ and *winanga-y* – ‘think (about)’ are both transitive, and *wanggara-y* – ‘forget’ can be used both transitively and intransitively. (GY has a similar change of verb class and exceptions.)

A major difference between Wangaaybuwan and GY is that Wangaaybuwan has a 3-way tense split (past, present, irrealis/future) while GY finite tenses have a two way split. (future, non-future). However GY roots to which a progressive suffix has been added have a 3-way split. The present tense in Wangaaybuwan indicates actions which ‘are taking place’ (Donaldson 1980:160) and so correspond to the present-continuous in GY.

### 3.3.1 Wangaaybuwan verb suffixes

Wangaaybuwan has a large number of verbal suffixes deriving verb stems. They are listed below (See Donaldson 1980: chapter 6). These are considered because they are later used in a study of GY verb suffixes.

#### 3.3.1.1 Wangaaybuwan suffixes deriving transitive stems

The following suffixes are attached to intransitive verb stems.

-ba-li	TRANSITIVISER (only on ‘laugh’ and ‘cry’, forms ‘laugh at’ ‘cry at’)
-ma-li	CAUSATIVE – On some intransitive verbs. S becomes O (‘fall’ -> ‘drop’)
-giyama-li	CAUSATIVE – ‘heat’ (cause by heating)
-DHinma-li	CAUSATIVE – ‘hit’ (cause by hitting)
-ganma-li	CAUSATIVE – ‘by behaviour’ (only on ‘laugh’ and ‘fear’ forms ‘be frightened at’, ‘laugh at’ (someone’s behaviour))

While –ma-li is a general causative suffix, the last three suffixes indicate the type of action involved in the causation. They are used in sentences such as:

You made the horse run ‘by hitting him’.

I laughed ‘because of what you were doing’.

#### 3.3.1.2 Wangaaybuwan suffixes deriving intransitive stems

The following suffixes are attached to transitive verb stems.

-DHili-y	reflexive
-la-y	reciprocal
-y	as intransitiviser of l and r conjugation transitive verbs. (change of verb class – see 1.2.3.3 above)

This last suffix illustrates well the case for looking at Wangaaybuwan. Williams does not refer to this phenomenon in her grammar, yet it is found frequently on the GY tapes, but not in written historical sources. The Wangaaybuwan description of the process was an impetus for looking for a parallel phenomena in GY, and provided a model for its



description. The change of verb class is not found on the rr class GY verbs, but it does occur in Wangaaybuwan, as in:

- (3-3) *ngindu dhu-rri-y-aga murra-gu*  
 you+NOM spear-INTR-IRR spear-INST  
 'You will get (yourself) speared by a spear.' (6-31 in Donaldson 1980)

The normal WB transitive form of 'spear' is *dhu-rri*. The intransitivised form is *dhurri-y*. Intransitivisation of rr class may well have been a feature of GY, but it is quite understandable that no examples of this ended up on the tapes. In view of the similarity of the process in GY and Wangaaybuwan there is no good reason for not extending the process to GY rr class verbs.

### 3.3.1.3 Wangaaybuwan implicative Suffixes

Implicative and Aspectual suffixes do not affect transitivity. An Implicative suffix 'implies the possible involvement of an additional argument in the sentence.' (Donaldson, 1980:172) The Wangaaybuwan implicative suffixes are:

- <i>mi-y</i>	WATCHING. Occurs only on 'sit', 'stand' and 'lie', which are all stative.
- <i>ngama-y</i>	BUSY. Also only on verbs of position which also function as stative verbs.
- <i>DHurri-y</i>	to get EVENS, + other meanings
- <i>DHa-y</i>	EATING, DRINKING When attached to verbs of position this indicates that the actions are concurrent, when attached to other verbs it indicates the action is undertaken in order to eat or drink.
- <i>DHa-y</i>	REFLEXIVE FOCUS like the English 'for oneself'
- <i>yili-y</i>	ULTERIOR FOCUS ('for/after someone else')

This section is relevant to GY in that GY has no way of saying some of the things listed above - (e.g. 'busy', 'to get even'). Also the EATING, DRINKING suffix has a parallel in GY which Williams did not describe. See 3.4.2.1. Again this series of suffixes provides a good starting point for an examination of GY. Some examples of the above suffixes are:

- (3-4) *yana-dhurri-nyi=dju Jane-gan-ga*  
 go-EVEN-PAST=1NOM Jane-NAME-LOC  
 I went to get even with Jane. (6-47 in Donaldson 1980)

- (3-5) *dhaay=na yani-yili-nja*  
 hither=3ABS go-ULTERIOR FOCUS-PRES  
 (She) is coming this way after (someone).  
 (Said of someone anxious to pick a fight. 6-63 in Donaldson 1980)

### 3.3.1.4 Wangaaybuwan aspectual Suffixes

Unlike the implicative suffixes, aspectual suffixes have no impact at all on syntax.

-ngarri-y	in the MORNING
-nga-y	in the AFTERNOON
-ngabi-y	at NIGHT
-garraa-y	ALL DAY
-gaa-y	A BIT
-aali-y	AGAIN
-NHumi-y	BEFORE
-bi-y	BEHIND
-biya-y	OF NECESSITY
-DHunma-y	in a GROUP
-wa-y	MOVING, GETTING (to)
-ngila-y	CONTINUED ACTION
-buna-y, burri-y	BACK
-NHaani-y	adopt POSITION
-guwa-y	PITY
-waaga-li	DURATIVE
-ga-li	PROGRESSIVE

In 3.4.1 a comparison will be made with GY aspectual suffixes. GY has some suffixes which are similar in form and meaning to these WB suffixes and others which are similar in meaning, but not in form. The Wangaaybuwan list can give hints when considering otherwise unanalysed forms in the GY source documents, and indicate possible suffixes to look for.

### 3.3.2 Wangaaybuwan compound verb stems

(cf Donaldson 1980: Chapter 7) This section of Wangaaybuwan has no parallel in Williams' analysis of YW, yet there are many GY verbs which have similar properties to those described by Donaldson for Wangaaybuwan verbs, including *manuma-li* – 'steal', *wiima-li* – 'put down', *dhirranba-li* – 'shake' and others. Donaldson describes compound verbs thus: 'compound verb stems consist of a bound "modifier".. followed by one of a set of bound verb roots. .. For instance, the Wangaaybuwan bound modifier *gunuN-* 'with energy ' may be followed by the transitive bound root *-ma-l'* (or by other roots). (Donaldson 1980:201). GY compounding is discussed in section 3.4.4. Compound verbs can be the sole verb of a clause or they can be used as modifiers of other verbs. Examples of Wangaaybuwan compound verbs include:

compound stem	translation	components
<i>bura-ma-y</i>	'snap off' (intransitive)	<i>bura-</i> – 'snap off', <i>-ma-y</i> – intransitive

<i>wirrba-ga-li</i>	‘split’ (log with axe)	<i>wirrba-</i> – ‘split’, <i>-ga-li</i> – ‘pierce’
<i>bun-ga-li</i>	‘open’ (rabbit burrow by treading on it)	<i>bun-</i> – ‘change’, <i>-ga-li</i> – ‘pierce’

### 3.3.2.1 Bound modifiers

Bound modifiers are followed by a ‘bound verb root’ (3.3.2.2) to form a verb stem. Not all combinations of modifier and bound stem are found. Donaldson divides the Wangaaybuwan bound modifiers into 3 groups.

#### [1] Action-oriented

<i>gunuN-</i>	‘with energy’
<i>bala-</i>	‘with little energy’
<i>mayN-</i>	‘fail’
<i>mulan-</i>	‘repeatedly’
<i>dhuguN-</i>	‘satisfyingly’

#### [2] Object-oriented

<i>muun-</i>	‘(do to) all’
<i>garruun-</i>	‘(do to) none’
<i>manuN-</i>	‘(do to) somebody else’s’
<i>gibayN-</i>	‘(do) in return (to)’
<i>nga-</i>	‘test’

#### [3] Result-oriented

<i>bun-</i>	‘change’
<i>ga-</i>	‘break’
<i>bun-ga-</i>	‘open’ (‘change-break’)
<i>wirrba-</i>	‘split’
<i>bura-</i>	‘snap off’
<i>wuruun-</i>	‘(move) out’
<i>dhirra-</i>	‘(move) up’
<i>wirri-</i>	‘(move) down’
<i>dhilan-</i>	‘shake’
<i>wayuN-</i>	‘(move) in circles’
<i>yan-</i>	‘join up with’.

### 3.3.2.2 Bound verb forms

The ‘bound verb forms’ follow the bound modifiers above to form compound verb stems.

Transitive bound verb forms		Intransitive bound verb forms	
<i>-ma-l</i>	TRANSITIVE	<i>-ma-y</i>	INTRANSITIVE
<i>-giyama-li</i>	‘heat’	<i>-giya-y</i>	‘heat’
<i>-DHinma-li</i>	‘hit’	<i>-DHinma-y</i>	‘get (self) hit’
<i>-bi-li</i>	‘move away’	<i>-bi-y</i>	‘move away’
<i>-DHa-li</i>	‘do with mouth’		
<i>-DHi-li</i>	‘do with foot’		
<i>-ga-li</i>	‘pierce’	<i>-ga-y</i>	‘get (self) pierced’
<i>-ya-li</i>	‘speak’		

It is important to comment on the glosses given for the morphemes above, whether suffixes, bound modifiers or bound verbs. Firstly the gloss given often needs to be thought of as a label rather than as a description of the full meaning of the suffix. For instance Donaldson labels *-DHurri-y* – ‘to get EVENS’, (3.3.1.3) partly because a short word is needed for interlinear glossing. However she points out (1980:174) that there are many uses of *-DHurri-y* which do not mean ‘to get even’ and she ends up leaving the meaning incompletely defined. This is part of the reality of written grammars. Some things will be well defined, but often the situation is otherwise, with the one predominant meaning given not capturing the range of use a suffix has. It is the case with a number of the morphemes considered below that their meaning is fairly imprecisely known and defined.

### **3.4 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay verb morphemes**

Two types of verb morphemes are discussed in 3.4, suffixes and morphemes which form compound verb stems. The summary of Wangaaybuwan grammar above lists many suffixes, and Donaldson’s ‘bound modifiers’ and ‘bound verb forms’ are examples of morphemes which form compound stems. Since the aim of this thesis is to develop new lexical material for GY, GY morphemes which are already well defined and which are used solely as suffixes to existing verb roots are outside its scope. An example is the reflexive suffix. The main purpose here is to describe morphemes which can be used to create new compound verb stems in GY and a lesser purpose is to define new suffixes which attach to stems. There is also consideration of borrowing Wangaaybuwan morphemes into GY. While conceptually suffixes, verb stem forming morphemes and verb stems are separate, there are some forms which occur in a number of the categories, for instance in GY *dha-li* – ‘eat’ is a verb, *-dha-li* may be a bound verb stem, and *-dha-y* – ‘eating’ is an aspectual suffix.

#### **3.4.1 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay aspectual suffixes**

I will keep to Donaldson’s classification of suffixes into Aspectual, Implicative, Transitive and Intransitive. Apart from the change of verb class discussed elsewhere no new intransitive suffixes were found, so that category is not discussed.

The relationship between Wangaaybuwan and GY aspectual suffixes varies. At times there are close similarities. Williams (1980:78) points out that the GY and Wangaaybuwan time

suffixes (‘morning, afternoon, night, all day’) (cf 3.3.1.4) have similarities in form and meaning. The Wangaaybuwan progressive/durative/continued action and moving suffixes are related to the progressive forms in GY in form and meaning. However a precise comparison cannot be made because the GY progressive suffixes have not been fully described. The suffix glossed ‘back’ is *-uwi-y* in GY, and *-buna-y* and *-burri-y* in different dialects of Wangaaybuwan. *-uwi-y* and *-burri-y* look to be cognate.

At other times the Wangaaybuwan suffixes are similar in their role to members of other word classes in GY. The WB *-biya-y* – ‘of necessity’ is similar in meaning to the GY suffix *-yaa* – ‘must’, but while *-biya-y* is a verbal suffix, *-yaa* can be attached to words of any class. Some of the WB aspectual suffixes can be translated by words in GY: the WB *-guwa-y* – ‘pity’ by GY *ngarragaa*, the WB *-bi-y* – ‘behind’ by GY *ngaya* and the WB *-aali-y* – ‘again’ by GY *yalu*. (GY) So some Wangaaybuwan suffixes have identical or similar forms in GY while others have the some role or meaning as GY suffixes which are not similar in form and others again correspond to GY words. There is no simple relationship between aspectual suffixes in Wangaaybuwan and GY. Some of the above considerations are summarised in the table below.

Table 3-1: Some WB aspectual suffixes and related GY morphemes

Wangaaybuwan suffix	related GY morpheme	comment
<i>-buna-y</i> , <i>-burri-y</i>	<i>-uwi-y</i>	cognates
<i>-biya-y</i> – ‘of necessity’	<i>-yaa</i> – ‘must’	verb suffix WB; general suffix GY
<i>-guwa-y</i> – ‘pity’	<i>ngarragaa</i>	suffix WB; word GY
<i>-bi-y</i> – ‘behind’	<i>ngaya</i>	suffix WB; word GY
<i>-aali-y</i> – ‘again’	<i>yalu</i> – ‘again’	suffix WB; word GY

There is another set of Wangaaybuwan suffixes whose relationship to GY is different again. GY currently has no way of translating the remaining Wangaaybuwan aspectual suffixes *-gaa-y* – ‘a bit’, *-NHumi-y* – ‘before’ and *-DHunma-y* – ‘in a group’. There is a lexical gap in GY. For example in GY there is no way of saying ‘They went to the river **before** they went home.’ As discussed previously the aim is to have a GY which can communicate a range of ideas and which is as faithful a possible to traditional GY. There is very little chance of ever finding out how traditional GY would have conveyed the meaning ‘before’. Borrowing from a related language is generally the method which will be most true to traditional GY, so one way to fill that gap is for it to borrow the Wangaaybuwan

way of saying ‘before’. Any other approach is likely to lead to greater changes to traditional GY. All of the Wangaaybuwan suffixes above, *-gaa-y* – ‘a bit’, *-NHumi-y* – ‘before’, *-bi-y* – ‘behind’ and *-DHunma-y* – ‘in a group’, convey common concepts, so all would be useful if borrowed into GY with their Wangaaybuwan meaning and structure. Ideally a large number of sentence examples of the use suffixes would be considered to achieve a greater understanding of them. There are likely to be many such examples in the Wangaaybuwan tape transcripts but these are in manuscripts and until they are readily available the understanding of the suffixes will be limited.

Lastly the Wangaaybuwan aspectual suffix *-NHaani-y* – ‘adopt position’ does provide a hint to the existence of a similar GY suffix. *NHaani-y* (WB) is only suffixed ‘to the three verbs of position which also function as existential verbs, *wii-y* – ‘sit’, *wara-y* – ‘stand’ and *yuwa-y* – ‘lie’. Adding *-NHaani-y* converts these verbs to verbs of motion .. ‘sit down’, ‘stand up’, ‘lie down’ (Donaldson 1980:193).’ One of the Wangaaybuwan examples has a GY parallel: *warra-y* – ‘stand’ and *warra-y-nga-y* – ‘get up’. There are two other examples in GY which may include the same suffix:

<u>GY verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>related verb</u>
<i>gaanga-y</i>	‘give birth to, lay egg, be born’	<i>gaa-gi</i> – ‘bring, take, have’
<i>wunga-y</i> YW,		
<i>wurunga-y</i> GM	‘dive into, go into water, bathe in water’	cf <i>wuu-gi</i> YW, * <i>wuru-gi</i> GM ‘go in’. <sup>1</sup>

The sense of ‘adopt position’ does have connection with the use of the suffix in *gaanga-y* (get into the state of carrying/having a baby) and *wunga-y* – (get into the water). It would be better to have stronger evidence, but in the circumstances there is enough evidence to define *-nga-y* – ‘adopt position’ as a GY aspectual suffix suitable for further use, and unlike its Wangaaybuwan cognate it is not limited to stative verbs.

<sup>2</sup>New lexical material from this section includes a newly described GY suffix, *-nga-y*, and three Wangaaybuwan aspectual suffixes that GY can borrow. There is also another new GY aspectual suffix, *-gi-y* – ‘around’ discussed in 1.2.3.4.4.

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<sup>1</sup> There is a regular process whereby VrV in Gamilaraay changes to VV in Yuwaalaraay, where V represents the same vowel – as in *mara* G Gamilaraay and *maa* Yuwaalaraay ‘hand’. Therefore there is a fair chance of an unrecorded *wuru-gi* – ‘go in’ in Gamilaraay.

Table 3-2: Proposed new GY aspectual suffixes

proposed suffix	gloss	source
<i>-nga-y</i>	‘adopt position’	GY data
<i>-gi-y</i>	‘around’	GY data
<i>*-bi-y</i>	‘behind’	Wangaaybuwan
<i>*-gaa-y</i>	‘a bit’	Wangaaybuwan
<i>*-NHumi-y</i>	‘before’	Wangaaybuwan
<i>*-DHunma-y</i>	‘in a group’	Wangaaybuwan

(The suffix *-nga-y* does not have a ‘\*’ since it is newly described, based on GY data, rather than a proposed new morpheme. )

An example of a stem that might be formed using these suffixes is: *yanaa-dhunma-y* – ‘go – in a group’ = ‘go in a group’.

### 3.4.2 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay implicative suffixes

Implicative suffixes imply the existence of a potential new argument of the verb to which they are attached. There are six Wangaaybuwan implicative suffixes. The WB *-yili-y* – ‘ulterior focus’ and GY *-n.giili-y* are cognate. Wangaaybuwan has *-dha-y* – ‘eating, drinking’ and the same form in GY has a very similar meaning. It is also proposed that the other four Wangaaybuwan implicative suffixes be borrowed into GY.

#### 3.4.2.1 *-dha-y* – ‘eating, do with mouth’

The Wangaaybuwan suffix *-dha-y* means the verb action was somehow associated with eating and drinking. The form *-dha-* is identical in form with both the Wangaaybuwan and GY verb stem ‘eat’. Williams (1980:74) did not find evidence to support R. H. Mathews’ claim that the suffix existed in GM. Mathews cites the example ‘*bumadhe* – ‘beat after eating’ (In current orthography this is *buma-dha-y*). However further evidence has emerged with a re-examination of the tapes.

On tape 3217A Arthur Dodd says:

- (3-6) *ngaarri-bala ngaya gi-yaa-nha gaa-dha-waa-y*  
 there-Contrast I going to take-Eat-Cont-Future  
 I am going to take (to eat) (it) there.  
 “I’ll take this meat across the river.” (presumably to eat)

On tape 8187 he says, when telling a story about people not giving food to others:

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<sup>2</sup> In this and many following sections new lexical material is considered that might be used in GY. A short summary of any new material is at the end of any such section.

- (3-7) *waal ngiyani-luu wuu-dha-y-la-nha*  
 not we-all give-Eat-y-Reg-Pres  
 We all are not giving any (to eat).  
 “We are not giving them any.” (to eat)

And on tape 3220A he translates ‘They all danced after the meal.’ with:

- They all danced after the meal.  
 (3-8) *giirr-bala ngaama ganunga yulu-dha-nhi*  
 indeed-contrast there they (Nom) dance-Eat-Past  
 They danced there (?eating).

Other verbs occur which also provide evidence for this suffix. The verb *gi-gi* – ‘be, become’ occurs a number of times as *gi-dja-nhi* – ‘become-eat-past’. This is in sentences like:

- (3-9) *dhumbil mubal gi-dja-nhi*  
 full? stomach be-Eat-Past  
 My stomach got ?swollen (from eating?).  
 “my belly sticking out now full”

Sim (1999) has *ngarrdhanma-li* – ‘make mouth water’. This could well be *ngarr-dha-nma-li*, with a morpheme *ngarr* whose meaning is unknown.

Arthur Dodd, on tape 8185 translates ‘the smell of the goannas was good’ as:

- the smell of the goannas was good’  
 (3-10) *ngaama gaba buwi-y-dha-nhi*  
 there/that good smell-y-Eat-Past  
 It smelt (eating) good there.

There are some other uses of *-dha-y* which suggest a broader meaning for it than ‘eating’. Arthur Dodd on tape 8186 talks of the crow putting the fire out by ‘blowing’, an action done with the mouth. The verb Arthur Dodd so translates is *bu/buu-dha-ldaay*, which includes *-dha-*.

- (3-11) *wii nguu bu/buu-dha-ldaay*  
 fire he bu/buu-?Mouth-Relative  
 “when he blew the fire out”

The phrase is repeated, and both *bu* and *buu* are used as the first syllable of the verb. The syllable *bu* is not a verb root in GY but is a common Australian root for ‘hit’ and often for the broader meaning, ‘have an effect on’. The syllable *buu*, likewise, does not occur in GY



as a separate morpheme, but words such as *buulii* – ‘whirlwind’, *buulirral/bulirral* – ‘breath’ and *buwi-y* – ‘smell’ indicate a historical morpheme to do with breath/wind/air.

The final example is more speculative. Fred Reece on tape 2436B is telling a story of looking for *milaan*, a yam and a prized food, and he describes what he did on finding them:

- (3-12) *nhama gadha-y ngaya gunidjarr "ngambaa, milaan nhalay, dhaay yanaa-ya"*  
 there gadha-Past I mother “mum, milaan here, to here go-Command  
 Then I ?called out to my mother: mum, there’s milaan here, come here!

He does not provide a translation, but the obvious sense of *gadha-li* is ‘call out to’. There is a word of similar form, *gadhabal* – ‘wonderful, sound made during intercourse’. There is also a morpheme *ga-* in Wangaaybuwan which Donaldson glosses ‘break’, which is discussed further below. A speculative interpretation of GY *gadha-li* is that it is formed from the morphemes ‘break’ and ‘do with mouth’ and can be translated by something like ‘call out to’, ‘interrupt’, or ‘exclaim’.

The suffix *-dha-y* has been discussed at some length, with most of its occurrences listed. It would take too much room to do that with all the morphemes to be discussed, but the process of arriving at the morphemes will be similar. For *-dha-y* a range of uses and meanings are illustrated, including some speculative ones. A disadvantage of shorter treatment is that the meanings of the morpheme may be less completely conveyed.

Table 3-3: Proposed new GY implicative suffixes

proposed suffix	Gloss	source
<i>-dha-y</i>	‘eating’ (and some related uses – see examples above)	GY data
*- <i>ngama-y</i>	BUSY Also only on verbs of position which also function as stative verbs.	Wangaaybuwan
*- <i>DHurri-y</i>	to get EVENS, + other meanings	Wangaaybuwan
*- <i>DHa-y</i>	REFLEXIVE FOCUS. like the English ‘for oneself’.	Wangaaybuwan
*- <i>mi-y</i>	WATCHING Occurs only on ‘sit’, ‘stand’ and ‘lie’, which are all stative. (A suffix related to <i>mil</i> – ‘eye’ is discussed below (3.4.3.1) with stem forming elements.)	Wangaaybuwan

### 3.4.3 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay suffixes deriving transitive stems

These suffixes attach to intransitive verb stems to form a transitive verb. The subject of the intransitive verb is the object of the resulting transitive verb, except for the Wangaaybuwan *-ba-li*, where the subject is the same for both verbs. In this section I look at the GY suffixes first, then consider whether it is appropriate to borrow others from Wangaaybuwan. Only one GY transitivising suffix, *-ma-li*, has been described by Williams. A number of potential GY suffixes are also considered. There is enough evidence to support the adoption of one, *-bi-li*, but not enough to support the adoption of the other potential suffixes.

#### 3.4.3.1 *-ma-li* – causative, ‘do with hand’

The suffix *-ma-li* is found in both GY and Wangaaybuwan with identical use, and is described above in the sections on GY and Wangaaybuwan verb morphology (1.2.3.6 and 3.3.1.1). It is by far the most common transitivising suffix, and creates a causative verb from the intransitive verb, for example ‘make stand’ from ‘stand’. It is also used in forming GY and Wangaaybuwan verbs from borrowed English verbs. It occurs suffixed to GY intransitive verbs in sentences such as:

- (3-13) *giirru nhama dhayn-duul nganha bundaa-ma-y*  
true the man-one? me fall-ma-Past  
‘The man made me fall over.’ (Williams 1980:84) *bundaa-gi* - ‘fall’.

The same suffix also occurs on what are presumably intransitivised forms of transitive verbs. The transitive verb *ngarra-n-ma-li* is ‘show’, i.e. ‘cause to be seen’ seems to be formed from *ngarran* which is presumably an intransitivised derivation from *ngarra-li* - ‘see’. The formation of this intransitivised verb form has not been investigated and is beyond the scope of this thesis.

#### 3.4.3.2 *-bi-li* – ‘let’

There is another GY transitivising suffix *-bi-li*, which has not been previously defined and has no Wangaaybuwan cognate. Evidence for it comes from a number of sources and is summarised in the table below. *Yanaa-y* is ‘go, walk’ and *yanaa-y-n-bi-li* (go-future-(n)-bi-li) occurs often, usually translated ‘let go’, but once as ‘sack (dismiss from a job)’. Ridley (1875:8) has *bumana-bi-li* – ‘allow to be beaten’. *Buma-li* is ‘hit’ and *buma-na-* is presumable a currently unanalysed intransitive form. These uses of *-bi-li* can be labeled ‘permissive’. The tapes have *binda-y* – ‘hang’ (intransitive - fruit hanging on a tree, child

hanging on tit), and *binda-y-bi-li* / *binda-bi-li* – (transitive – ‘hang (in tree)’, ‘tie up (dog)’). These are causative uses of *-bi-li*. In fact *bindama-li* is also found glossed ‘hang – transitive’, so *-ma-li* and *-bi-li* here seem to have the same effect. Sim has *yulaymbilanhi* – ‘tangled’. *Yulaa-li* is ‘tie’ and *yulay* is ‘net’. Sim’s word points to an inchoative use of *-bi-*, the intransitive form of *-bi-li*, again attached to an intransitivised form of a verb. *yula-y-m-bi-la-nhi* then is – ‘tie-Int-m-bi-Reg-Past’. The table shows possible occurrences of the potential suffix *-bi-li*.

<u>simple verb root</u>		<u>suffixed verb stem</u>	
<i>yanaa-y</i> is	‘go, walk’	<i>yanaa-y-n-bi-li</i>	‘let go’, ‘sack’
<i>buma-li</i>	‘hit’	<i>bumana-bi-li</i>	‘allow to be beaten’
<i>binda-y</i>	‘hang’ (Int)	<i>binda-y-bi-li</i> / <i>binda-bi-li</i>	‘hang’ (Tr)
<i>yulaa-li</i> – ‘tie’/ <i>yulay</i> – ‘net’		<i>yulay-m-bi-la-nhi</i>	‘tangled’

There is clear evidence from a range of sources for *-bi-li* to be used as ‘let’, though more work needs to be done on the form of the intransitivised verbs it attaches to. I suggest that it not be used as an inchoative suffix unless further evidence is found. One reason is that GY uses the verb *gi-gi* – ‘be, become’, where other Australian languages use inchoative suffixes (see 3-14) and so there is not a great need for an inchoative suffix in GY. Nor has an inchoative suffix been defined in Wangaaybuwan. Both *-bi-li* and *-ma-li* also occur as stem forming elements and are discussed later in this chapter.

- (3-14) *gaba gi-nyi, ngali-nya*  
good be-Past, we two-that  
You and I got good.  
“We feel good now.”

#### 3.4.3.3 Other possible suffixes

There are three other possible suffixes (*-ba-li*, *-bama-li* and *baya-li*) which form transitive stems but they are rare and their meaning remains unclear.

In Wangaaybuwan *-ba-li* occurs as a transitiviser attached to ‘cry’ and ‘laugh’, forming verbs ‘cry at’ and ‘laugh at’, and *-ba-* occurs at times as an epenthetic syllable before other causative suffixes. In GY it occurs as a stem forming element with delocutive meaning (below) and once suffixed to the verb *dhuwi-y*. *Dhuwi-y* is a previously unlisted transitive verb meaning ‘stick into’. It is used, for example, of prickles sticking into a foot. *Dhuwinba-li* – ‘hide’ (transitive) and *dhuwinba-y* – ‘hide’ (intransitive ) are possibly derivatives of *dhuwi-y*, but this is not enough evidence to suggest a meaning for *-ba-li/-ba-*

y. The fact that there is an ‘n’ after *dhuwi* may indicate that this is an intransitivised form similar to *ngarran* and *buman* discussed in previous paragraphs. *Dhuwima-li* is another verb which contains *dhuwi-*. *Dhuwima-li* is most frequently translated ‘pull out’ (guts from animal, etc) but is also less frequently used of people ‘getting spears’, ‘getting fire from someone’ or ‘letting go (a dog from the chain)’. Its meaning is not what would be expected from *dhuwi-y* – ‘go in’ + *ma-li* ‘causative’, so the meaning of *dhuwi-* must remain uncertain, and therefore any attempt to analyse *dhuwinba-li* is also speculative.

The potential GY suffix *-bama-li* is found in the following examples, which do not indicate a clear use for *-bama-li*.

<u>(possible) simple verb root</u>	<u>suffixes</u>	<u>suffixes</u>	<u>suffixes</u>
<i>yu-gi</i>	‘cry’	<i>yu-bama-li</i>	‘make cry’
<i>dhurra-li</i>	‘come’	<i>dhurraabama-li</i>	‘catch up with’
		<i>wagirrbama-li</i>	‘wash’

Another GY suffix occurs when Fred Reece translates ‘I hit him and made him cry.’ with:

(3-15) *buma-y ngaya-nga, yu-baya-nhi ngaya-nga*  
hit-Past I-that, cry-baya-Past I-that  
I hit him, I ?made him cry.

In this example *-baya-y* is effectively a transitive suffix which could well be formally and semantically related to the Wangaaybuwan bound verb form *-ya-li* - ‘speak’. However it is y class, which is unusual for a transitive suffix and it has been found only once in GY sources so there is too little information for *-baya-y* to be productively used.

At this stage there is little to support a productive role for the suffixes *-ba-li* and *-bama-li* but formally identical morphemes are discussed below as root forming elements. These and *baya-li* are best left as potential suffixes which will only be defined if further information is found in GY sources or in other related languages.

Of the Wangaaybuwan transitive suffixes only *-ma-li* has a GY cognate. The others (*-ba-li*, *-giyama-li*, *-DHinma-li*, *-ganma-li*) are quite restricted in their application and specialised in their meaning, and the meanings (‘laugh at’, ‘cause by hitting’ etc) can be conveyed in GY with its existing syntax and lexicon. While GY could borrow one or more of these suffixes there is no real advantage in doing so at this stage of its revival.

The new transitivity suffix defined in this section is:

*-bi-li*            ‘let’

#### 3.4.4 Forming compound verbs in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay

The advantages and importance of compounding as a strategy for forming new words has been outlined in 2.2.3.2. It is a productive strategy which leads to new words whose meaning is often obvious or pointed to by its components and it is also a strategy which was widely used by traditional GY. Compounding therefore satisfies the two key criteria for forming new words – fidelity to the language and learnability of the new words. It has been shown, and it will be more obvious as more verbs are analysed, that many GY verb stems are historically compound.

Compounds which include an existing verb have been discussed above in 3.4.1. In those compounds the morpheme attached to the verb is called a suffix. e.g. - *warra-y-ma-li* - ‘cause to stand’ is a compound of *warra-y* - ‘stand’ and *-ma-li* - ‘causative’, with *-ma-li* being a suffix.

There are numerous compound verb stems where the first element is not an existing verb. Examples include:

<u>compound GY verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>first morpheme</u>
<i>maayuma-li</i>	‘heal’	<i>maayu</i> is an adverb, ‘well’
<i>baluburra-li</i>	‘put out (a fire)’	<i>balu</i> is an adjective, ‘dead’ ( <i>burra-li</i> discussed later)
<i>gayrrba-li</i>	‘name’ (Tr)	<i>gayrr</i> is a noun, ‘name’
<i>manuma-li</i>	‘steal’	See below for <i>manu</i> .

The morpheme *manu* does not exist as a separate word, but is found in a number of verb stems. Donaldson glosses it ‘(do to) someone else’s’. It is a Wangaaybuwan ‘bound modifier’. Using Donaldson’s terminology again, the second morpheme in each stem is called a ‘bound verb’. She lists a number of these in 3.3.2.2.

In section 3.4.5 I examine GY verbs in order to find which stem final morphemes have a definable meaning. The status of the elements found will vary, with some having clear meaning and frequent use and others having a less clear meaning and less frequent use. Sometimes further information can be obtained by considering cognates, particularly in Wangaaybuwan. On the basis of all the information I will make a recommendation as to

whether the morpheme should be used in producing new GY verb stems. It is to be expected that as the GY material and that from neighbouring languages is further examined new usable morphemes will be found.

### 3.4.5 Possible stem final morphemes in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay verbs

In this section I examine each syllable that occurs stem final in GY I class verbs to see if it may be a productive morpheme. Before examining the syllables I outline my reasons for taking this approach. In some cases I also examine disyllabic forms which occur stem finally. When discussing the syllable I write it as it appears in the citation form of the verb rather than as it occurs in the verb stem (so I write *-ma-li* rather than *-ma-*).

There are a number of indications that many GY verb roots are composite. Dixon (1980:387) and others have pointed out that compound verbs are common in Australian languages. As pointed out above (3.2) Donaldson (1980:209) considers that, historically, all the final syllables of I class Wangaaybuwan roots were once separate morphemes. One reason she gives is that the final syllables all start with consonants permissible in word initial position. Since GY and Wangaaybuwan are closely related one might expect GY to be the same, but while most GY I class verb stems do satisfy that condition a number do not. In the final syllable of I class root non word-initial consonants occur. ('l' a few times and 'rr' frequently). There are two cases of the final syllable beginning with 'l' - *gula-li* - 'bark' (its Wangaaybuwan cognate, *gulaN-y* - 'call out' is 'y' class) and *yulaa-li* - 'tie up'. Earlier wordlists have another I class verb, *wila-li* - 'live', whose final syllable begins with 'l', but the verb is actually y class, *wila-y*. There are numerous examples of the final syllable being *rra-* (*dhurra-li* - 'come', *garra-li* - 'cut' *baluburra-li* - 'put out (fire)' *ngarra-li* - 'look, see' and more.)

There are other similarities and differences between the final syllables of I class stems in GY and Wangaaybuwan. In Wangaaybuwan no I class stems end in a long vowel or 'u'. Root final long vowels occur in GY including *guwaa-li* - 'talk', *yulaa-li* - 'tie up', *gawaa-li* - 'chase', *yii-li* - 'bite' and some others. Wangaaybuwan has no 'u' final I class roots. In GY a few are listed, but none of these are supported by further examination of the evidence. The verbs *wuru-li* - 'blaze', *gayu-li* - 'pelt' and *dhurru-li* - 'come' are in earlier wordlists

but re-examination of the tapes indicate that these are *wula-y* (possibly), *gayawi-li* and *dhurra-li*.<sup>3</sup>

So the final syllables found in I class GY verbs begin with the word initial consonants (peripherals and glides), ‘rr’, and in two cases ‘l’. The vowel ‘u’ never occurs in the final syllable and the stem final vowels are predominantly short. In the majority of cases then the final syllable could have been, in their present form, a separate verb root. It may also be that a phonological process may be found which explains the derivation of the *-rra-* in stem final position, so that the historically compound nature of the verb roots will be even clearer.

Because of the restrictions on their initial consonant and vowels only a relatively small number of syllables occur stem finally on I class verbs. All have been examined to see if they carry a discernible meaning. Indications that a syllable has such a meaning include its separate existence as a word or morpheme (*-ma-li* – transitiviser; *wa-li* – ‘put in’, *mil* – ‘eye’), that it is used as a bound verb in Wangaaybuwan, or that it is attached to recognisable morphemes. (For example *-rra-li* in *dhiya-rra-li* – ‘dip (water)’ can be separated from *dhiya* – ‘move up’). A discernible meaning may or may not emerge for the morpheme. Even when a morpheme has a discernible meaning, this meaning will generally not apply to all occurrences of the form. Verb stem elements can be polysemous. For instance the Wangaaybuwan suffix *-dha-y* is ‘eating, drinking’ and also ‘reflexive focus.’

The approach taken below is to examine the final syllable of each GY I class stem to see if it has some consistent meaning and so is useful as a compounding morpheme.

#### 3.4.5.1 *-ba-li* - ‘emit sound’, ‘causative’

In Wangaaybuwan *-ba-li* is a transitivising suffix which occurs only on the verbs ‘laugh’ and ‘cry’ but it does not occur as a bound verb. In GY it does not occur as a verb suffix but occurs a number of times as a morpheme in verb stems whose meaning has to do with

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<sup>3</sup> In fact ‘come’ is given as *dhurri-li* in Austin (1994), *dhurru-li* in Williams and I have transcribed it *dhurra-li*. The fact that one verb has been rendered three different ways cautions one not to build too much on a small number of examples. It certainly points out the problems associated with using data from informants who are not fully fluent and points out how easy it is for written data to be misinterpreted. This misinterpretation will often occur as the material is transferred into a new orthography.

speaking or making a noise. (The list includes verbs and also the meanings of any of the stem component morphemes, where known.)

verb stems which end with *-ba-li*

<i>dhayaamba-li</i>	‘whisper’
<i>gayrrba-li</i>	‘name’ <i>gayrr</i> – ‘name’ (nominal)
<i>girriinba-li</i>	‘make a lot of noise’
<i>gidjigidjiba-li</i>	‘tickle’      this may be ‘to make say ‘ <i>gidjigidji</i> ’
<i>buuba-li</i>	‘fart, pass wind’
<i>dhurradhurraba-li</i>	‘tap’ (as in tapping the ground, trying to find a rabbit burrow.)

Further evidence for *-ba-li* as a verb stem element which has to do with emitting sound / speaking comes from two nominals, *gadhabal* – ‘wonderful’ and *girribal* – ‘riddle’. Since 1 class verbs can be nominalised by adding ‘l’ to the stem these could well be the nominalised forms of the verbs *\*gadhaba-li* and *\*girriba-li*, although the actual verbs have not been recorded. Both *gadhabal* and *girribal* have to do with talking and *gadhabal* incorporates the stem of a verb *gadha-li*, whose meaning is unclear but is something like ‘call out’. These words provide further, if weak, evidence for *-ba-li* as a morpheme to do with emitting sound / speaking.

There is also another GY speech verb, *miinba-y* – (transitive) ‘ask for’ which has stem final *ba-*, but it is y class. The GY verb *miinma-li* – ‘pull’ (listed as *miinba-li* in earlier wordlists) which incorporates the common morpheme *-ma-li* is evidence for the existence of a morpheme *miin-*. This supports the analyses *miinba-y* as composite and so the existence of a morpheme *ba-li/ba-y*.

There are numerous Wangaaybuwan verbs associated with speech or noise which end in ‘*ba-li*’:

<u>compound verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>warraaymba-li</i>	‘scream’
<i>yilgirrba-li</i>	‘rattle’
<i>ngumburrba-li</i>	‘rumble’
<i>dhandhanba-li</i>	‘throb’

There are also related y class Wangaaybuwan verbs.

<i>wangaay-ba-y</i>	‘say no to’ ( <i>wangaay</i> – ‘no’)
<i>ngaawaa-m-ba-y</i>	‘say yes to’ ( <i>ngaawaa</i> – ‘yes’)



The morphemes *-ba-li/-ba-y* are attached to the word or sound emitted (*wangaay*, *ngaawaa*) or to the name of a sound (*dhandhan* - ‘throb’, *gayrr* - ‘name’). Since no difference has been found between the use of *-ba-li* and *-ba-y* in Wangaaybuwan only *-ba-li* will be used in forming new GY words

In both GY and Wangaaybuwan there are also verbs which end in *-ba-li* but which have nothing to do with speech or sound. Some GY examples are:

<u>compound verb</u>	<u>gloss and analysis</u>
<i>dhuwinba-li</i>	‘hide’ (transitive) <i>dhuwi-y</i> – ‘stick into’
<i>dhirranba-li</i>	‘shake’ The existence of <i>dhilan-</i> ‘shake’ as a Wangaaybuwan bound modifier is evidence that <i>dhirran-</i> is a morpheme in GY and so that <i>-ba-li</i> is a morpheme in <i>dhirranba-li</i> .
<i>garranba-li</i>	‘push against’ <i>garra-li</i> is ‘cut’
<i>wamba-li</i>	‘carry’
<i>giinba-li</i>	‘scale’ (remove scale from fish); <i>giinbal</i> is the noun ‘scale’

A Wangaaybuwan example is *wurrurrba-li* – ‘swell’.

It is common for homophonous morphemes to exist, for instance in Yankunytjatjara (Goddard, 1983:111) the sound emission and delocutive suffixes (*ma-n* and *tjinga-l*) also have other functions. So the fact that *-ba-li* is frequently incorporated in sound production verbs is sufficient basis for defining it as a ‘emit sound’ verb stem morpheme, even if it is not always used with that function. As well as being used as ‘sound production’ *-ba-li* is also used in a general transitivising suffix. It is similar to *-ma-li*, which is the more general morpheme with this role but, as pointed out below in the section on *-ma-li*, *-ma-li* is more likely to be used when the action is likely to be done with the hands. So *-ba-li* can be used with a general causative meaning, as well as with a ‘emit sound’ meaning. There is a morpheme *-ya-li* – ‘say, mouth’ whose role is in some ways similar to that of *-ba-li* – ‘emit sound’. They will be contrasted in the section on *-ya-li* below.

Potential words illustrating the use of morphemes are at the end of a sub-section and others are at the end of major sections or chapters. Some potential new words including *-ba-li* are:

a) using *-ba-li* – ‘emit sound’

* <i>ngaa-m-ba-li</i> -	‘yes – say’ = ‘agree’	<i>ngaa</i> (GM) - ‘yes’
* <i>waal-ba-li</i> ,	‘no – say’ = ‘disagree’	<i>waal</i> (YW) – ‘no’

\**gamil-ba-li*                      ‘no – say’ = ‘disagree’                      *gamil* (GM) – ‘no’

b) using *-ba-li* - ‘causative’

\**gayaa-ba-li*                      ‘happy – cause’ = ‘please’

\**dhiya-ba-li* –                      ‘lift up-cause’ = ‘increase’ e.g. of a price.

\**wii-ba-li*                      ‘move down-cause’ = ‘decrease’ e.g. of a price.

### 3.4.5.2 *-bama-li*? - ?‘cause to emit sound’

The GY causative suffix *-bama-li* is only found attached to *yu-gi* – ‘cry’. Formally the suffix might be a combination of *-ba-li* - ‘emit sound’ and *-ma-li* – ‘causative’, giving a meaning ‘cause to emit’ however this would be a case of *-ma-li* suffixed to a transitive stem, and that is not permitted. Goddard (1983:113) points out that in Yankunytjatjara there is a very productive suffix which he labels ‘make emit’ which is similar in effect to *-bama-li* above. The existence of such a suffix in another Pama-Nyungan language is an indication that a similar suffix might exist in GY. However at this stage the evidence is not sufficient to define the suffix and so it cannot be used to produce new stems.

### 3.4.5.3 *-bi-li* – ‘move away’, ‘inchoative’

The verb stem morpheme *-bi-li* appears to have a number of uses and is also synonymous with another verb stem morpheme. In GY there is a verb suffix *-bi-li* meaning ‘let’ (see above 3.4.3.3). In Wangaaybuwan there is a bound verb element *-bi-li* glossed ‘move away’. In GY both *-bi-li* and *-wi-li*, its lenited form, are at times consistent with the meaning ‘move away’. There is some evidence that *-bi-li* and *bi-y* (the intransitive form of *-bi-li*) are used inchoatively, forming intransitive verbs, in both GY and Wangaaybuwan, but the evidence is not particularly strong, and inchoative meaning in GY is often conveyed by the verb *gi-gi* - ‘become’. (see *-bi-li* above in 3.4.3).

Below is a list of GY verbs which end with *-bi-li* or its intransitive equivalent *-bi-y*. The meaning of some of these verbs clearly includes ‘move away’ (*dhubi-li* – ‘blow’ and *buubi-li* – ‘spit’) and in others the meaning may be included (*yabi-li* – ‘kiss; twist, plait’). An inchoative meaning for the suffix may be included in *wuulaabi-y* - ‘get warm’ and *wiibi-li* – ‘be sick’, and even possibly in some of the others. The lack of information about the other morpheme in the verb stem makes it difficult to determine the role of *-bi-li*.

<u>GY verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>possible first morpheme of verb</u>
<i>buubi-li</i>	‘blow’	cf <i>buu-</i> below 3.4.5.
<i>dhubi-li</i>	‘spit’	cf <i>dhu-</i> below 3.4.4.5
<i>gurruubi-li</i>	‘swallow’	<i>gurru</i> – ‘hole’

<i>wiibi-li</i>	‘be sick’ (GM)	<i>wii</i> – ‘fire’/ <i>wii-</i> ‘move down’
<i>yabi-li</i>	‘kiss; twist, plait’	<i>ya-</i> - ‘speaking’
<i>wuulaabi-y</i> / <i>guulaabi-y</i>	‘sun oneself’ ‘get warm’	
		<i>wuulaa</i> – ‘frilled lizard’
<i>baabi-li</i>	‘sleep’	(listed as l class in Austin (1994) but possibly y class)
<i>dhabi-y</i>	‘be quiet’	
<i>gubi-y</i>	‘swim’	

Wangaaybuwan has a number of intransitive verbs which include *-bi-li*. Some support an inchoative use for this suffix, others the meaning ‘move away’, and others are inconclusive. Again it is impossible to assign a meaning to the suffix if the meaning of the remainder of the root is not known. It is possible that *dharaam* (in *dharaambi-li*) means something like ‘fond’ and that *-bi-li* here has an inchoative use but it is only possible to surmise since the meaning of *dharaam* is not known.

WB verb	gloss	possible use of <i>-bi-li</i>
<i>garrabi-li</i>	‘reddden, look red’	inchoative
<i>ban.gabi-li</i>	‘whiten, show white’	inchoative
<i>dhalarrbi-l</i>	‘shine, be bright’	inchoative
<i>buumbi-li</i>	‘blow’	‘move away’
<i>gaabi-li</i>	‘vomit up	‘move away’
<i>birrumbi-li</i>	‘shoot’	‘move away’
<i>girrambi-li</i>	‘suffer, feel pain’	inchoative/unclear
<i>birrabi-li</i>	‘feel hunger’	inchoative/unclear
<i>barraybi-li</i>	‘hurry’	inchoative/unclear cf GY <i>barraay</i> – ‘fast, quickly’
<i>dharaambi-li</i>	‘be fond of’	inchoative/unclear
<i>yanaarrbi-li</i>	‘walk about all time’	inchoative/unclear cf <i>yana-y</i> - ‘walk, go’
<i>yaalbi-li</i>	‘make a noise in a mob’	inchoative/unclear

Between the GY and Wangaaybuwan examples there is enough evidence to support the use of *-bi-li* as both inchoative and ‘move away’. One of the recommendations made earlier is that homonyms be avoided. However in this case it is appropriate to not follow that recommendation and to assign two meanings to *-bi-li*. In GY the first meaning is shared with *-wi-li* which is discussed later.

#### 3.4.5.4 -*dha-li* – ‘eat’

A GY intransitive suffix of similar form and meaning has already been discussed in 3.4.1.2. The GY verbs with stem final *dha-* are listed below. The first two are related to eating, but only *dhadha-li* is compound.

GY verb	gloss	possibly related morphemes
<i>dha-li</i>	‘eat’	
<i>dhadha-li</i>	‘taste’	<i>dha</i> – ‘test’
<i>banggadha-li</i>	‘float’	
<i>badha-y</i>	‘hit’, ‘give someone a hiding’	

There is a WB bound verb *DHa-li* – ‘do with mouth’. There is sufficient evidence to adopt *dha-li* – ‘eat’ as a GY bound verb.

#### 3.4.5.5 -*ga-li* – ‘pierce’

Donaldson analyses –*ga-li* ‘pierce’ as a bound verb form. It occurs with bound modifiers (e.g. *bala-ga-li* – ‘do with little energy-pierce’) but also in other Wangaaybuwan words such as those below where the segment before –*ga-li* is not glossed. A list of GY examples follows.

WB verb	gloss
<i>baga-li</i>	‘dig’
<i>wuruga-li</i>	‘put in’
<i>banga-li</i>	‘burn’

GY verb	gloss
<i>gaga-li</i>	‘call out, shout’ (which is transitive, not intransitive as labeled in current wordlists)
<i>ngayaga-li</i>	‘kiss’
<i>wun.ga-li</i>	‘return’
<i>yaaga-li</i>	‘moan’ (also labeled intransitive, the tapes are inconclusive)
<i>yurringga-li</i>	‘push’
<i>yuuga-li</i>	‘rejoice’

I can find no common meaning for –*ga-li* in GY, but it is a common element in Wangaaybuwan and it can be used in GY with its Wangaaybuwan meaning, ‘pierce’.

#### 3.4.5.6 -*gi-li* – no meaning assigned

In GY –*gi-li* is uncommon stem finally, found only in:

<i>giigi-li</i>	‘itch’ (possibly <i>giigi-y</i> ) the only well attested occurrences, and in:
<i>magi-li</i>	‘make, constitute’ (reconstructed from <i>mugille</i> in Ridley 1875:34)

*mugi-li*                      ‘mix’

I can find no meaning for *-gi-li* in GY.

### 3.4.5.7 *-ma-li* – transitive, ‘do with hands’

I have previously discussed the GY and Wangaaybuwan verb suffix *-ma-li* which is a transitivity marker. Donaldson (1980:202) has two roles for the bound form *-ma-li*. One is as the general transitive suffix attached to bound verb modifiers. The other is a semantic role, ‘do with hand’. She also describes a role for *-ma-y* as the general intransitive suffix.

In GY *-ma-li* is common verb stem finally, attached to many different types of morphemes.

It is found attached to bound modifiers:

GY verb	gloss	possible related morphemes
<i>dhiyama-li</i>	‘pick up’	<i>dhiya-</i> – ‘move up (intransitive)’
<i>manuma-li</i>	‘steal’	<i>manu-</i> does not occur elsewhere in GY, but is a Wangaaybuwan bound verb modifier glossed ‘do to others’ and has a pejorative connotation.
<i>bunma-li</i>	‘make, change’	<i>bun-</i> in Wangaaybuwan is a bound modifier meaning ‘change’

It is also found attached to nominals:

<i>dhawuma-li</i>	‘cook in the ashes, cover (with earth)’	<i>dhawun</i> – ‘earth’
<i>biiwanma-li</i>	‘puff out chest’	<i>bii</i> – ‘chest’; <i>-wan</i> – ‘with prominent’
<i>gabanma-li</i>	‘make better’	<i>gaba</i> – ‘good’
<i>giyanma-li</i>	‘frighten’	Williams has <i>giyal</i> – ‘afraid’

It is attached to adverbs:

<i>maayuma-li</i> (YW), <i>maruma-li</i> (GM) – ‘heal’	<i>maayu</i> is ‘well’ in YW and <i>maaru</i> the expected corresponding GM word. (intervocalic ‘r’ in GM regularly changes to ‘y’ in YW)
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There is also the intransitive form *-ma-y*:

<i>gindama-y</i> – ‘laugh’	In Wangaaybuwan <i>ginda-y</i> is ‘laugh’
<i>yuurrma-y</i> – ‘dance’ and once ‘play with’	<i>yuurr</i> is not known except here.

The above examples show that *-ma-li* has a general transitivity role in GY. In this role it can be attached to bound verb forms, but also to many other morphemes. It is an extremely productive morpheme. In many verbs its use is consistent with the semantic role: ‘do with hand’, for instance *dhiyama-li* and some other verbs above, and the GY verbs below.

GY verb	gloss
<i>dhama-li</i>	‘feel, touch’,
<i>baarrama-li</i>	‘tear’,

<i>bindama-li</i>	‘hang up’,
<i>buma-li</i>	‘hit, kill’
<i>gama-li</i>	‘break’

Verbs for actions which do not involve the hands rarely end in *-ma-li*, for example the following verbs which involve other body parts:

<u>GY verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhubi-li</i>	‘spit’
<i>dha-li</i>	‘eat,
<i>yii-li</i>	‘bite’,
<i>gawaa-li</i>	‘chase’

Many verbs where an instrument is used do not end in *-ma-li*, for example *garra-li* – ‘cut’ and *giinba-li* – ‘scale’. Nevertheless there are verbs with stem final *-ma-li* where the meaning ‘do with hand’ is not appropriate, for example *dhabima-li* – ‘leave alone’ (*-ma-li* here is a suffix, not a verb element) and *dhanggurrama-li* – ‘corroboree’.

In GY *-ma-li* is a very productive as a verb stem morpheme, with a general role in forming transitive stems, but with a strong tendency for the stem to imply an action ‘done with the hands’.

#### 3.4.5.8 *-mi-li* - ‘see, look’

There is an implicative suffix *-mi-y* in Wangaaybuwan glossed ‘watching’ which occurs only on stative verbs. The form *-mi-li* occurs as the final part of a small number of GY verbs, attached to verb elements and verb stems. Its use is consistent with it being an example of body part incorporation of *-mil* – ‘eye’.

There are two words for ‘see’ in GY, *ngarra-li* in YW and *ngami-li* in GM. The Wangaaybuwan for see is *ngaa-y*, and *nga-/nya* is a common Australian root for ‘see’. Evans and Wilkins (1988:31) point out that Aboriginal words for ‘see’ often incorporate the body part for eye, so it is well founded to analyse *ngami-li* as based on *nga* + *mil*. There is the GY verb *dhurra-li* – ‘come’ and *dhurraami-li* is ‘wait for’, probably a compound of ‘come’ and ‘eye/look’. The verb *wuumi-li* occurs only once, when Arthur Dodd is speaking of a young kangaroo in the pouch ‘peeping his head out, watching.’ This appears to be a compound of *wuu-gi* – ‘go in’ and *mil* – ‘eye’. The last example of stem final *-mi-* is in Sim (1999) who has *yuuwaanmi-li?* – ‘lose’. The class of the verb is uncertain, but probably 1

class. The morpheme *yuuwaa/yuuwaan* may well be related to the archaic YW word *yuwaal* – ‘no’. This is consistent with the stem being a compound of ‘not’ and ‘see’ which is one way of conceptualising ‘lose’.

<u>Verb incorporating –mi-li</u>		<u>possibly related morphemes</u>	
GY verbs			
<i>ngami-li</i>	‘see’	<i>nga-</i>	‘see’
<i>dhurraami-li</i>	‘wait for’	<i>dhurra-li</i>	‘come’
<i>wuumi-li</i>	‘peep’	<i>wuu-gi</i>	‘go in’
<i>yuuwaanmi-li?</i>	‘lose’	<i>yuwaal</i>	‘no’
Wangaaybuwan verbs			
<i>manmi-li</i>	‘follow’		
<i>gulami-li</i>	‘miss, unable to follow’		
<i>mugami-li</i>	‘stare’	In GY <i>muga</i> is ‘deaf’ and ‘ <i>muga mil</i> - ‘blind’ ( <i>mil</i> - ‘eye’), so <i>mugami-li</i> could well be ‘look without seeing’.	
<i>gunmi-li</i>	‘watch’	Uncle Ted Fields translates this word as ‘cadging, look at something with a greedy look, a wanting look in the eye’	
<i>walimi-li</i>	‘dislike’	<i>wali</i> also occurs in <i>walindja-li</i> - ‘be lonely’. Both occurrences have to do with negative emotion.	

The morpheme *-mi-li* occurs a large number of times with a consistent meaning ‘see, look’ and so is very suitable for use as a verb stem forming morpheme.

#### 3.4.5.9 –nga-li – ?‘see’

The only sure GY example of verb final *-nga-li* is *winanga-li* – ‘hear, listen, know, remember, ...’. *ngaa-y* is ‘see’ in Wangaaybuwan and a cognate of this occurs in the GM *nga-mi-li* and YW *nga-rra-li* – ‘see’. *Winanga-li* is clearly a case of body part incorporation – *bina* is ‘ear’, and this has been lenited to *wina-* in *winanga-li*. The compounding of the word for ear with the word for ‘see’ to form ‘hear’ is common (Evans and Wilkins 1998:31). The clear meaning of *-nga-li* makes it suitable to use for new verbs involving ‘seeing’, but the fact that there may be a pattern of this morpheme being limited to sense words (feel, smell, touch) across languages is a counterindication to use (cf Evans and Wilkins 1998:31). There is also an alternative for seeing words – *mi-li* - (above).

#### 3.4.5.10 -rra-li – ?‘move into’

As pointed out above GY *-rra-li* cannot be a separate verb that has been absorbed into root final position since it begins with ‘rr’, which is not found word initially in GY. It does not correspond to any of the compound verb elements in Wangaaybuwan and does not occur in

Wangaaybuwan stems yet it is one of the most common final syllables in GY I class verbs. There are examples below and some are clearly compound but for others such as *biirra-li* there is no indication that the first part of the stem is a morpheme, or the possible interpretation is speculative, as for *biyuurra-li*.

<u>GY verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>possibly related morphemes</u>
<i>barra-li</i>	‘sharpen’	
<i>biirra-li</i>	‘skin’	<i>bii</i> – ‘chest’
<i>biyuurra-li</i>	‘roll’	? <i>biyuu</i> – ‘far away’, <i>biyu</i> – ‘hole’
<i>bulirra-li/buulirra-li</i>	‘breathe’	<i>buulii</i> – ‘whirlwind’, ( <i>buu</i> – ‘air, wind’ – see 3.4.6.4)
<i>buurra-li</i>	‘pluck’	
<i>dhiirra-li</i>	‘teach, remember’	
<i>dhiyarra-li</i>	‘dip from’ (water from a river)	<i>dhiya-</i> – ‘move up from’ (see 3.4.6.3)
<i>dhulirra-li</i> Int	‘drip’	<i>dhuli-y</i> – ‘bend down – Int’
<i>dhurra-li</i> Int	‘come’	cf <i>dhu</i> (see 3.4.6.4)
<i>gaarra-li</i>	‘rub’	
<i>garra-li</i>	‘cut’	<i>ga-</i> ‘break’ (see 3.4.6.3)
<i>gurra-li</i>	‘swallow’	
<i>ngarra-li</i>	‘see’	<i>nga-</i> – ‘see’ (see 3.4.5.9)
<i>nhamurra-li</i>	‘bury’	
<i>wiirra-li</i>	‘shave’	<i>wii/wi-y</i> – ‘move down’
<i>yuwarra-li</i> Int	‘doze off’	<i>yuwarr</i> – ‘sleep’
<i>baluburra-li</i>	‘put out, (fire)’	<i>balu/balun</i> – ‘dead’; This last verb actually incorporates <i>-burra-li</i> , which will be considered below in 3.4.6.3.

Apart from *garra-li* and *dhurra-li* these occur only in Yuwaalaraay so *-rra-li* is not very common in Gamilaraay.

There are a number of GY verbs with *-rra-li* which have WB cognates. These show no consistent relationship between the WB final syllable and *-rra-li* in GY.

<u>GY verb</u>	<u>Wangaaybuwan</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhiya-rra-li</i>	<i>dhirra-ga-li</i> (dip from-pierce)	‘dip from’
<i>ga-rra-li</i>	<i>ga-bi-li</i> (break- move away)	‘cut’
<i>buurra-li</i>	<i>burrba-li</i>	‘pluck’

For other verbs there is no relation between their GY and WB forms:

<u>GY verb</u>	<u>Wangaaybuwan</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>wiirra-li</i>	<i>yurayngga-li</i>	‘shave’
<i>nhamurra-li</i>	<i>muruma-li</i>	‘bury’



I have not found a gloss which covers all the occurrences of *-rra-li* however many of the verbs above do have some shared meaning. There are a few occurrences where *-rra-li* can be glossed ‘pierce’(as in *dhiyarra-li* above), but more can be glossed ‘move into’ in a more or less literal sense. These include cut (the blade moves into the object), bury (move into the ground), doze (move into sleep), breathe (move into chest, into body), swallow (move into stomach/body) and rub (hand is pushed into something). Even *dhurra-li* - ‘come’ can be thought of as ‘move into sight’.

The verb stem morpheme *-rra-li* can be defined with the meaning ‘move into’, at times used metaphorically.

#### 3.4.5.11 *-wa-li* – ‘put in’

Donaldson does not include *-wa-li* in her list of bound verbs but it is common verb finally in Wangaaybuwan, at times attached to recognised morphemes as in *wirriwa-li* – ‘weigh down’ (*wirri-* – ‘move down’). In GY *wa-li* exists as a separate verb, ‘put in’ and it is attached to *balu* – ‘dead’ in *baluwa-li* – ‘put out (fire)’. Its intransitivised form is *wa-y* and that occurs once as an unexplained suffix in *dhadha-wa-y-la-nha* - ‘taste-wa-y-Reg-Pres’ - ‘tastes’ (*dhadha-li* - ‘taste, transitive’). Other GY examples of *-wa-li* include:

<u>GY verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>possibly related morphemes</u>
<i>gadhumayawa-li</i>	‘hide’	
<i>gandawa-li</i>	‘cover’	
<i>garrawa-li</i>	‘keep, store’	<i>garra</i> – ‘a crack’, <i>garra-li</i> – ‘cut’
<i>gudhuwa-li</i>	‘burn’	
<i>gundaawa-li</i>	‘burn’	<i>gundaa</i> – ‘cloud’
<i>dhanggiwa-li</i>	‘deceive, play a trick on’	<i>dhanggi</i> - ‘trick, deception’

The meaning ‘put in’ could be literally relevant to the first three examples, and may, metaphorically be involved in the last example. The existence of *wa-li* – ‘put in’ as a free standing verb also support the use of *-wa-li* as a stem forming morpheme.

There are a number of transitive Wangaaybuwan verb stems which end in *-wa-li* but with no discernible common meaning for it:

<u>verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>possibly related morphemes</u>
<i>mawa-li</i>	‘trample’	
<i>gurrwa-li</i>	‘supervise’	
<i>barrawa-li</i>	‘ask’	
<i>wirriwa-li</i>	‘weigh down’	<i>wirri-</i> - ‘move down’

*girrwa-li* ‘disturb, start’ (game, prey)

The occurrence of *girr-wa-li*, *girr-ba-li* – ‘provoke, poke’ and *girr-ma-li* – ‘waken’ and their similar meaning establish *girr-* as a morpheme in Wangaaybuwan, and so lend weight to *-wa-li* also being a morpheme. *-wa-li* also occurs in a number of intransitive Wangaaybuwan verbs:

WB verb	gloss	possibly related morphemes
<i>guuraywa-li</i>	‘spin, dizzy’	(cf WB <i>guurayma-li</i> – make spin)
<i>gilaywa-li</i>	‘turn’	
<i>gagaywa-li</i>	‘wheel’ (birds)	
<i>nharrwa-li</i>	‘slip’	

There is strong evidence from a number of GY sources for the existence of *-wa-li* as a stem forming element. Enough of the meanings are consistent with the gloss ‘put in’ for that to be the definition accepted.

#### 3.4.5.12 *-wi-li* – ‘move away’

The form *-wi-li* does not occur verb stem finally in Wangaaybuwan. In GY it occurs in:

GY verb	gloss	possibly related morphemes
<i>bawi-li</i>	‘sing’	
<i>gaawi-li</i>	‘vomit’	‘vomit’ is <i>gaabi-li</i> in Wangaaybuwan
<i>gaayawi-li/gayawi-li</i>		‘pelt, throw hard (at)’

In a number of words Wangaaybuwan /b/ lenites to /w/ in GY, so that the WB cognate of *-bi-li* may be *-wi-li*. In Wangaaybuwan the bound verb form *-bi-li* is ‘move away’ (transitive) which is consistent with the meaning of ‘vomit’ and ‘pelt’ above, even if the meaning of the remainder of those stems is not known. There is no obvious link between ‘move away’ and ‘sing’, although *bawi-li* may include a metaphorical use *-wi-li*.

On the basis of two verbs and the Wangaaybuwan cognate *-wi-li* can be used stem finally as ‘move away’. As discussed above both it and *-bi-li* have this meaning.

#### 3.4.5.13 *-ya-li* – ‘speak’

There is a Wangaaybuwan bound verb form *-ya-li* – ‘speak’ which occurs with bound modifiers such as *gunuN-* – ‘do with energy’ and *bun-* – ‘change’. The same form also occurs in Wangaaybuwan verbs where it is not attached to a recognised bound modifier, for example:

WB verb	gloss	possibly related morphemes
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<i>ngiya-li</i>	‘speak, say, tell’	
<i>burraya-li</i>	‘change someone’s state by talking’	<i>burra-</i> - ‘change’ in GY
<i>winiyaya-li</i>	‘drag, carry in mouth’	
<i>warruya-li</i>	‘run someone down (verbally)’	

Three of these verbs clearly have to do with speaking and the fourth with mouth. In GY – *ya-li* it occurs in:

GY verb	gloss	possibly related morphemes
<i>baaya-li</i>	‘bite off, crack between teeth’	
<i>buuyawiya-li</i>	‘tell’	
<i>dhaya-li</i>	‘ask’	? <i>dha-</i> - ‘mouth’
<i>gaya-li</i>	‘answer’	
<i>maaya-li</i>	‘whisper’	
<i>ngaay gaya-li</i>	‘kiss’	cf <i>ngaay</i> – ‘mouth’ <i>gaya-y</i> - ‘turn over’
<i>yaya-li</i>	‘rouse on, tell off’	?reduplication of – <i>ya-</i>
<i>baaya-li, baya-li</i>	‘chop’	
<i>maya-li</i>	‘put up’	

All except the last two of the above have to do with speaking or mouth. The suffix –*ya-li* is clearly a morpheme which can be used to form words related to speaking and action involving the mouth. It has some similarity to the delocutive suffix –*ba-li* but they can generally be distinguished by the type of morpheme they are attached to and the semantics of the resultant verb. The suffix –*ba-li* is attached to a sound or to a word associated with the sound (*ngumburr* – ‘rumble’, *gayrr* – ‘name’) and the resultant verb is a ‘sound production’ verb such as ‘scream’ or ‘rattle’. In contrast –*ya-li* is attached to morphemes not directly associated with sound (*burra-* ‘change’) or to morphemes of unknown meaning. The resultant verb is a ‘speech act’ verb such as ‘tell’ or ‘convince’ and does not describe the actual sound made.

The morpheme –*ya-li* is a common verb stem element whose dominant use is with the meaning ‘speak’. It is an ideal element for use in creating new GY verb stems.

#### 3.4.5.14 –*yi-li* – ?, *unanalysed*

In GY there are two verbs which are currently listed as ending in –*yi-li*:

<i>binaal buuyi-li</i>	‘teach’
<i>guuyi-li</i>	‘shine’

These are both found only once in the GY sources and their form is uncertain. There are no verbs ending in *-yi-li* in Wangaaybuwan. There is only uncertain evidence that *-yi-li* occurs in GY verbs and no other evidence from GY or WB to suggest it is a productive morpheme.

I now consider two other morphemes which might be used stem finally.

#### 3.4.5.15 *-dhi-li* – ‘do with foot’

All the GY I class verb final syllables have been considered. There are two further Wangaaybuwan stem-final morphemes, *-giyanma-li* – ‘heat’ and *-DHinma-li* – ‘hit’ which, like the homophonous verb suffixes, do not have equivalents in GY, but neither are they needed or particularly useful in forming new words. The other Wangaaybuwan morpheme which has not been discussed is *DHi-li* – ‘do with foot’. This would be a useful verb element in GY. An argument against its use is that no GY I class verb stems have been found which end in *dhi-*. However it may well be that the absence of stems ending in *dhi-* in the GY corpus is due to the small number of verbs recorded rather than this being a firm rule of GY grammar. Dixon (1980:407) points out that a verb, *DHaa-n* – ‘stand’ related to *DHana/djina* – ‘foot’ is common in Australian languages. This encourages the adoption of a GY verb morpheme based on the GY word for ‘foot’ – *dhina*.

Widespread Australian practice, Wangaaybuwan practice and the usefulness of the verb element are all reasons for GY to adopt *\*-dhi-li* – ‘do with foot’ as a stem final verb element.

#### 3.4.5.16 *-uwi-y* – ‘back’

There is a GY aspectual suffix *-uwi-y* glossed ‘back’. A similar form occur in the verbs:

<u>GY verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>possibly related morphemes</u>
<i>dhanduwi-y</i>	‘lie down, sleep’	<i>dhaan</i> – ‘a lean’
<i>ngadaluhi-y</i>	‘squat’	<i>ngadaa</i> – ‘down’

The first two illustrate a pattern for forming verbs of movement from a position word + *-uwi-y*. It could be used with other position words to form new words such as *\*bawa-w-uwi-y* – ‘lie on back’ (*bawa* – ‘back’). The use of a homophonous suffix in forming nominals is discussed in 4.2.3.12.

The stem final morphemes are listed in table 3.5a at the end of the chapter.

### 3.4.6 Stem initial compounding elements

This next sections looks at verb stem forming elements which occur stem initially. The bound modifiers listed in the Wangaaybuwan grammar (3.3.2.1) and their parallels in GY are a starting point, but other morphemes have been found in the GY and Wangaaybuwan data (section 3.4.6.4). It is quite likely that other such morphemes will be found. I do not discuss whether these other morphemes are in some way fundamentally different from the bound modifiers. For each group of Wangaaybuwan bound modifiers I investigate whether there is a way of conveying the idea in GY, whether they give information about related GY morphemes and whether any Wangaaybuwan morphemes should be borrowed into GY.

#### 3.4.6.1 *Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay action-oriented bound modifiers*

Wangaaybuwan has five ‘action-oriented modifiers’ glossed as ‘with energy’, ‘with little energy’, ‘fail’, ‘repeatedly’ and ‘satisfyingly’ (see 3.3.2.1). They form verbs which can be used as independent free standing words, for example *gununh-dhi-li* – ‘with energy-do with foot’ = ‘kick hard’. However they can also be used to form verbs which are used in apposition to other verbs and to qualify these other verbs (Donaldson 1980:205). For instance the Wangaaybuwan *baga-li* - ‘dig’ can be qualified by verbs formed with the general bound transitive verb *-ma-li*, or with the bound verb *-ga-li* – ‘pierce’. So ‘dig energetically’ can be translated *gunu-ma-li baga-li* or *gunung-ga-li baga-li* (*gunuN* – ‘do with energy’) with the second making it explicit that ‘digging’ is a piercing action. GY does not use verbs in apposition in this way and it conveys similar concepts using particles. For example *bamba* – ‘with energy’ is used to form *bamba mawu-gi* – ‘dig energetically’ and *bamba* is also used at times to translate ‘satisfyingly’ which in Wangaaybuwan is translated by a bound modifier - *dhuguN*. GY also has a particle *baluwaa* - ‘with little energy’.

So of the five Wangaaybuwan ‘action oriented’ bound forms three can be translated by GY particles. There is at present no way of conveying the other two concepts, ‘fail’ and ‘repeatedly’ in GY. Following the pattern set by the particles *bamba* and *baluwaa* and by the further particles ‘can’t’ (*waala* YW, *gamila* GM) and *yalu* - ‘again’ the best way to convey ‘fail’ and ‘repeatedly’ in GY may be by using particles. However at present there is no obvious way of forming these new GY particles. This is one area in which it is better to

wait until a closer comparative study of related languages and other Australian languages is done rather than to invent new GY words too early.

No ‘action oriented’ bound forms are recommended for use in new GY words.

### 3.4.6.2 *Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay object oriented modifiers*

There are five Wangaaybuwan Object oriented verb elements glossed ‘(do to) all’, ‘(do to) none’, ‘(do to) somebody else’s’, ‘(do) in return (to)’ and ‘test’. The first, ‘all’ has been discussed above in 3.3.2. It is similar in meaning to the GY verb suffix *-aaba-li* discussed in 3.2. In GY there is no morpheme associated with the idea ‘do to none’. The concept can be paraphrased using indefinites, as in the constructed sentence:

- (3-16) *waal minya-gaa nguu dha-y*  
           not anything he/she eat-Past  
           He/she did not eat anything.

The Wangaaybuwan *gibayN-* - ‘(do) in return (to)’ can in some circumstances be translated by the GY *-uwi-y* - ‘back’. The final two action oriented modifiers are discussed below.

#### 3.4.6.2.1 *dha-* - ‘test’

The bound modifier *nga-* - ‘test’ occurs in the Wangaaybuwan verbs:

<u>verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>analysis</u>
<i>nga-ga-li</i>	‘test a hole to see what is there’ (checking a rabbit burrow)	‘test-pierce’
<i>nga-ma-li</i>	‘feel’	‘test-do with hand’
<i>nga-bi-li</i>		‘test-do away’ (no further meaning found)
<i>nga-dha-li</i>	‘taste’	‘test-do with mouth’ =
<i>nga-dhi-li</i>		‘test-do with foot’ (e.g. someone feeling the ground with their foot)

Two of these have close parallels in the following GY verbs:

<i>dha-ma-li</i>	‘feel’	cf <i>nga-ma-li</i> above
<i>dha-dha-li</i>	‘taste’	cf <i>nga-dha-li</i> above

In the two GY verbs stem initial *dha-* parallels stem initial *nga-* - ‘test’ in Wangaaybuwan. This is a good basis for using *nga-* ‘test’ in GY as a verb stem forming morpheme.

#### 3.4.6.2.2 *manu-* - ‘(do to) someone else’s’ (pejorative connotation)

The bound modifier *manu-* - ‘(do to) someone else’s’ occurs in the Wangaaybuwan verbs:

<u>verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>analysis</u>
<i>manu-ma-li</i>	‘steal’	‘ <i>manu</i> + transitiviser’ =

<i>manu-dha-li</i>		‘ <i>manu</i> + eat’ – used of a dog eating someone’s meat
<i>manu-bi-li</i>	not given	‘ <i>manu</i> + move away’
<i>manu-ga-li</i>		‘ <i>manu</i> + pierce’ – used when a woman began digging a burrow that someone else was already digging.

The gloss given by Donaldson does not convey the pejorative meaning of all words formed with *manu-* and a better gloss might be ‘do to somebody else’s (pejorative connotation)’. In GY *manu-* occurs only in *manuma-li* – ‘steal’ but its meaning is clear so it can be productively used.

The ‘object oriented modifiers’ recommended for use in new GY verbs are:

*dha-* - ‘test’ and

*manu-* - ‘(do to) someone else’s’ (pejorative connotation).

### 3.4.6.3 Result oriented modifiers

This is the biggest group of Wangaaybuwan stem initial elements, and the one with most similarity to GY. A number of the result oriented modifiers (‘change’, ‘break’, ‘move up’, ‘move down’ and ‘hold’) have cognates in GY, and for other Wangaaybuwan modifiers there are GY stem initial morphemes with similar meanings, but quite different forms (‘move out’, ‘move in circles’). No GY equivalents have been found for the Wangaaybuwan ‘open’, ‘split’, ‘snap off’ and ‘join up with’. I now consider the GY stem initial elements for which there are similar WB elements, and then other GY elements that have been found.

#### 3.4.6.3.1 *bun-*, *burra-* - ‘change’

The Wangaaybuwan bound modifier *bun-* occurs with 6 of the bound verb forms. One non-obvious use is in *bun.ga-li* - ‘comb (hair)’ (change+pierce). In GY verb initial *bun-* occurs only in *bunma-li* – ‘change, cause to become ...’ and in *bundaa-gi* – ‘fall’. In *bundaa-gi* it is probably not part of a compound stem. The verb *bunma-li* occurs in phrases like:

<u>GY phrase</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>related morphemes</u>
<i>binaal bunma-li</i>	‘quieten’	<i>binaal</i> – ‘well behaved’,
<i>garigari bunma-li</i>	‘frighten’	<i>garigari</i> – ‘frightened’
<i>waluwarr bunma-li</i>	‘make bigger’	<i>waluwarr</i> – ‘wide’
<i>balubunma-li</i>	‘put out (fire)’ (it is unclear if this is one word or two)	<i>balu</i> – ‘dead’

There are two other words or elements used in the same way as *bunma-li*, *-burra-li* and *burranba-li*. The morpheme *burra-li* occurs only following *balu* – ‘dead’ in:

*baluburra-li* ‘put out (the fire)’.

*Baluburranba-li* is also ‘put out (the fire)’, but *burranba-li* is generally a word rather than a suffix, and used in phrases like:

*yülay burranba-li* ‘annoy’                      *yülay* – ‘angry’  
*gagil dhaymaarr burranba-li*  
‘make the ground bad’   *gagil* – ‘bad’, *dhaymaarr* – ‘ground’

The morpheme *burra(n)-* also occurs in the GY:

<u>GY word</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>burranbaa</i>	‘new’ (one occurrence)
<i>burra-li</i>	‘begin’ (one occurrence)
<i>burranma-li</i>	‘make (a nest)’.

Donaldson does not list *burra-* as a bound morpheme but there is the Wangaaybuwan verb *burra-ya-li* – ‘convince’, which includes *-ya-li*, the bound verb element ‘speak’, indicating that Wangaaybuwan also has a morpheme *burra-* ‘change’.

Both *bun-* and *burra-* are used in both Wangaaybuwan and GY as ‘change’ and in the absence of any significant difference in their use in current GY both can continue to be used as stem-initial morphemes with that meaning.

#### 3.4.6.3.2 *dhiya-* - ‘lift up’

The Wangaaybuwan *dhirra* and GY *dhiya* - ‘lift up’ are cognate stem forming morphemes, as shown by:

<u>WB verb</u>	<u>GY verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhirrama-li</i>	<i>dhiyama-li</i>	‘pick up’
<i>dhirraga-li</i>	<i>dhiyarra-li</i>	‘dip (water from river)’

There is one further poorly attested GY word, *dhiyaagarra-li/y?*, (*garra-li* – ‘cut’ may be relevant) whose meaning has something to do with preparing a bed. This does not clarify the meaning of *dhiya*. While Donaldson glosses *dhirra-* - ‘move up’ I gloss *dhiya-* is as ‘lift up’, to make its transitivity explicit. It is well attested and defined and is suitable for use in producing new words.

#### 3.4.6.3.3 *ga-* - ‘break’

Donaldson glosses *ga-* ‘break’ and it occurs in Wangaaybuwan verbs such as:



<u>WB verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>analysis</u>
<i>gadha-li</i>	‘bite’	‘break-do with mouth’
<i>gaga-li</i>	‘chop’	‘break-pierce’
<i>gadhinma-li</i>	‘smash’	‘break-hit’
<i>gama-li</i>	‘break’	‘break-do with hand’

Many GY verbs have *ga-* as their first syllable and in the first two below its use is clearly consistent with the meaning ‘break’.

<u>GY verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>analysis</u>
<i>gama-li</i>	‘break’	‘break-do with hand’
<i>garra-li</i>	‘cut’	‘break-rra-li’
<i>garri-y</i>	‘stop’	
<i>gaya-li</i>	‘answer’	

It may be that *ga-* in *garri-y* is an example of use of metaphorical use of this morpheme.

There is enough evidence for *ga*—‘break’ to be used as a productive morpheme in GY verb creation.

#### 3.4.6.3.4 *gaya-* - ‘move in circles’

There is a Wangaaybuwan morpheme *wayuN-* ‘move in circles’. It forms:

<u>WB verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>analysis</u>
<i>wayuma-li</i>	‘rotate’	‘move in circles-do with hand’
<i>wayungga-li</i>	‘stir’	‘move in circles-pierce’ – e.g. stirring tea with a spoon.

There are a number of GY verbs with related meaning:

<i>gayma-li</i>	‘stir’ (pudding), ‘twist’ (ankle), ‘turn over’ (transitive) This is possibly formed from <i>gayama-li</i> )
<i>gaya-y</i>	‘turn over’ (intransitive)
<i>gaya-li</i>	‘answer’
<i>gayarra-gi</i>	‘look for’
<i>gayarra-y</i>	‘turn around, turn into, take the form of’
<i>gayawi-li</i>	‘point bone, kill’

In the above GY verbs the morpheme *gaya-* has a range of meaning from literally ‘moving in circles’ to other less literal but associated meanings. To ‘answer’ is to give a word back to the speaker, to ‘look for’ can well be thought of as involving ‘turning around’. Its clear meaning (‘move in circle’) and form make it a productive verb stem morpheme.

#### 3.4.6.3.5 *wi-y/wii-* - ‘lie( down)’

The bound modifier *wirri* – ‘move down’ occurs in the Wangaaybuwan verbs:

<u>WB verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>
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<i>wirrima-li</i>	‘put down’ (‘move down-do with hand’) The GY cognate is <i>wiima-li</i> .
<i>wirriga-li</i>	‘move down-pierce’ (no other meaning or translation given for this)
<i>wirriwa-li</i>	‘weigh down’ (‘move down-?’)

There are a number of GY verbs which are only found in a regular (progressive) aspect (see 1.2.3.5) one of which is *wi-y-la-nha* - ‘lying’. It is clear that this is a progressive aspect because of the present tense ending, *-nha*, which does not occur in finite tenses. It occurs in sentences such as:

- (3-17) *dhaymaa-ya-nha wi-y-la-nha, ngaama dhayn-duul*  
ground-Loc-that lie-y-Reg-Pres, the man-one.  
He’s lying there on the ground, that man.  
“He’s laying there on the ground, the man.”

The GY verb *wiima-li* ‘put down’ includes *-ma-li* – ‘causative, do with hand’ and can be written *wi-y-ma-li* - ‘lie down+causative’. The only other GY verbs with initial *wii-* are *wiibi-li* – ‘be sick’ and *wiirra-li* – ‘shave’. *Wii-bi-li* ‘be sick’ could be analysed as composed of *wii* – ‘move down’ and *-bi-li* – ‘inchoative’, so that ‘being sick’ means something like ‘adopting a lying down position’. There is no obvious connection of ‘shave’ with ‘lie down’. However the use of *wii/wi-y* in *wi-y-la-nha* and *wiima-li* and the possible use in *wiibi-li* is sufficient to establish the form and meaning of this morpheme. It can be used to produce new verb stems. The gloss ‘lie (down)’ is more accurate for the GY morpheme than ‘move down’ which Donaldson used for *wirri-* in Wangaaybuwan.

#### 3.4.6.3.6 Result oriented morphemes *Gamilaraay* - *Yuwaalaraay* can borrow

The above discussion has resulted in GY equivalents for all the Wangaaybuwan result oriented bound modifiers except the following:

<u>WB modifier</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>bura-</i>	‘snap off
<i>wirrba-</i>	‘split’
<i>yan-</i>	‘join up with’.

I now consider whether it is appropriate for these to be borrowed into GY. The meaning ‘snap off’ is not one that is used very frequently and the morpheme *bura-* ‘snap off’ is similar to the GY *burra-* - ‘change’ so that to use both of them could cause some confusion. At this stage I do not recommend borrowing *bura-* ‘snap off’, but it may be appropriate in the future. There is a GY verb *baarray-li* – ‘split’ so there is no need to borrow *wirrba-* - ‘split’.

On the other hand *yan-* ‘join up with’ has no GY equivalent, and so could be borrowed into GY. It can be used in potential verbs such as

\**yan-ya-li* - ‘meet up with-speak’ = ‘meet and discuss, have a meeting’.

#### 3.4.6.4 Other stem forming morphemes

The process of finding verb elements will be an ongoing one. So far I have worked from a list of Wangaaybuwan morphemes and looked for parallels in GY. Another process is to examine the GY and Wangaaybuwan material for recurrent, isolateable forms. Once some morphemes are defined (*-ma-li*, *-ba-li* etc) anything they are attached to is another potential morpheme. Below some such morphemes are considered but there could be many more. Further knowledge of GY and related languages and readily available wordlists will be the main tools to help find them.

##### 3.4.6.4.1 *dhu-* – ‘move’ (transitive)

Donaldson does not list a verb stem element with this meaning or form, however Wangaaybuwan has a number of stems consistent with *dhu-* being a stem element with the meaning ‘move’. The morpheme *dhu-* ‘move’ is also found in a number of other languages. Below are a number of verbs GY which begin with *dhu-*:

<u>GY Verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhurra-li</i>	‘come’
<i>dhuma-li</i>	‘shut’ and ‘open’ (door) in different sources
<i>dhubi-li</i>	‘spit’
<i>dhuli-y</i>	‘bend down’
<i>dhuwi-y</i>	‘stick into’
<i>dhu-rri</i>	‘pierce, spear, stab’

Wangaaybuwan verbs beginning with *dhu-* include:

<u>WB Verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhuwa-y</i>	‘fall’
<i>dhudha-li</i>	‘suck’ cf <i>-dha-li</i> – ‘do with mouth, eat’
<i>dhulbaama-y</i>	‘drip’
<i>dhulgima-li</i>	‘drop’
<i>dhuunma-li</i>	‘remove’
<i>dhumba-y</i>	‘point at’
<i>dhulma-li</i>	‘squeeze’

The majority of these verbs involve something being moved. Dixon (1980:405) lists *dhu-* as a proto-Australian root meaning ‘put’. The meaning ‘put’ is closely related to ‘move’ so *dhu-* ‘move’ is suitable as a verb stem forming element.

The following three potential morphemes are more problematic, with limited evidence to support them, but they can be used if needed, and do point to an ongoing process whereby more verb stem elements may be found.

#### 3.4.6.4.2 *dhuwi-* - ‘go into’?

The GY verb *dhuwi-y* - ‘stick into’ has been discussed in 3.4.3.3. A similar form occurs in the verbs *dhuwinba-li* - ‘hide’ (Tr) and *dhuwinba-y* - ‘hide’ (Int) and *dhuwima-li* - ‘pull out, remove’ but the meanings of the *dhuwi-* in ‘hide’ and ‘pull out’ seem contradictory. Until the current occurrences of *dhuwi-* are better understood it is better not to use it to form new stems.

#### 3.4.6.4.3 *yila-* - ‘sit (on)’ (intransitive)

There is some evidence for a morpheme *yila-* ‘sit on’. It occurs in two GY verbs, *yilawa-y* - ‘sit’ (intransitive) and *yilama-li* - ‘cook’ (transitive). In both verbs contain *yila-* is attached to common verb final morphemes (-*wa-y* and -*ma-li*). At times *yilama-li* is used as a general word for ‘cook’ but elsewhere it means ‘cook on (top of) the coals’, in contrast to ‘cook by covering/burying’ (*dhawuma-li*) so both verbs, *yilawa-y* and *yilama-li*, involve the meaning ‘sit (on)’. There is another GY verb *wila-y* - ‘stay, sit’ which is similar to *yila-* in form and meaning. There is sufficient evidence for *yila-* ‘sit on’ to be used as a productive morpheme.

#### 3.4.6.4.4 *miin-* - ‘towards the agent’

This morpheme is established on the basis of two GY verbs and a cognate form in Wangaaybuwan. The GY verbs *miinba-y* - ‘ask for’ and *miinma-li* - ‘pull’ (not *miinba-li* - ‘pull’ as in wordlists) both contain *miin-* attached to common verb final morphemes. The morpheme -*ba-y* is the intransitive form of -*ba-li* - ‘emit sound/say’, ‘cause’ and -*ma-li* is ‘do with hand’. By this analysis the verbs are *miinba-y* - ‘towards the agent-say’ and *miinma-li* - ‘towards the agent-do with hand’ and these are consistent with the meanings ‘ask for’ and ‘pull’. The Wangaaybuwan verb *miima-li* - ‘hold’ is consistent with *mii-* being a cognate for *miin-*. This is good evidence for *miin-* - ‘towards the agent’ to be used as a verb stem forming morpheme.

#### 3.4.6.4.5 *buu* - - ‘breath, air’

The GY verbs and nominals below give evidence for a possible morpheme *buu* to do with ‘breath, air’. There is some variability in vowel length in GY and also some inaccuracy in recording vowel length. The GY words below have been hyphenated to point out incorporated morphemes.

<u>GY words</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>possible related morphemes</u>
<i>buu-dha-li</i>	‘blow (fire) out’	<i>dha-li</i> - ‘do with mouth/eating’
<i>buulii</i>	‘whirlwind’	
<i>buuli-rral/buli-rral</i>	‘breath’	<i>-rraa-li</i> - ‘move into’
<i>buuli-rra-li/buli-rra-li</i>	‘breathe’	<i>-rraa-li</i> - ‘move into’
<i>buu-bi-li</i>	‘blow’	<i>-bi-li</i> - ‘move away’
<i>bu-wi-y</i>	‘smell’	<i>-wi-li</i> - ‘move away’
<i>buu-ba-li</i>	‘fart, pass wind’	<i>-ba-li</i> - ‘causative’

Koch (unpublished) gives many related cognates from around Australia, *including buyu, buuwi, buyan* - ‘breath’ and *buumbi, buuba-* and *puu-ma.nta* - ‘blow (verb)’. There is sufficient evidence to warrant using *buu-* as a productive morpheme to do with breath.

#### 3.4.6.4.6 *wali-* - ‘negative emotion’

There are a number of Wangaaybuwan and GY words listed below which include the form *wali-*.

<u>word</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>possible related morphemes</u>
<i>walindja-li</i> GY	‘be lonely’	
<i>walinydja-li</i> WB	‘be lonely’	
<i>murrurrwalingay</i> GY	‘stale’	
<i>walimi-li</i> WB	‘dislike’	<i>mil</i> - ‘eye’, <i>-mi-li</i> - ‘look’

The first two words are clearly cognate. The fact that *walimi-li* is consistent with body part incorporation of *mil* - ‘eye’ is evidence for the existence of a morpheme *wali-*. Weak support for this morpheme is also provided by the existence of a verb suffix *-nga-y* - ‘adopt position’, identical with the last part of the nominal *murrurrwalingay*. Further evidence is the fact that each of the words above involves a negative feeling or evaluation. There is less evidence for the morpheme *wali* - ‘negative feeling / evaluation’ than for some others discussed. However it can be used if needed. Its status may change with further investigation.

It is not suggested that a full list of morphemes which form verb stems in GY and Wangaaybuwan has been found. Rather some examples have been given of the processes

by which further such morphemes which will be found in the GY/Wangaaybuwan data and that of the neighbouring languages.

### 3.4.7 Summary

The major purpose of this chapter was to define morphemes for forming new GY verb stems. A lesser purpose was to define new and potential verbal suffixes - suffixes that attach to existing verb stems. These stem forming morphemes and suffixes are listed below.

Two types of verbal suffixes are listed. The first are newly described GY suffixes found in the GY sources. The second are Wangaaybuwan suffixes which might be borrowed into GY.

#### 3.4.7.1 New and potential Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay verb suffixes

The following table lists newly described GY verb suffixes and suffixes that can be borrowed from Wangaaybuwan.

Table 3-4a: Newly described GY verb suffixes

<b>suffix</b>	<b>gloss</b>
<i>-dha-y</i>	'eating'
<i>-gi-y</i>	'around'
<i>-nga-y</i>	'adopt position'
<i>-bi-li</i>	'let'

Table 3-4b: Verb suffixes GY can borrow from Wangaaybuwan

<b>suffix</b>	<b>gloss</b>
*-gaa-y	'a bit',
*-NHumi-y	'before',
*-bi-y	'behind'
*-DHunma-y	'in a group'.
*-mi-y	'watching'
*-ngama-y	'busy'
*-DHurri-y	'to get even' + other meanings
*-DHa-y	'for oneself'

### 3.4.7.2 Morphemes which can be used to form complex verb stems

Table 3-5 lists morphemes which can be used to form new compound verb stems. It is to be expected that further examination of the sources will lead to the definition of other such morphemes.

Table 3-5a: Morphemes used stem-final in compound verb stems

<b>morpheme</b>	<b>gloss</b>
<i>-ba-li</i>	‘emit sound’,
<i>-ba-li</i>	causative (not ‘done with hands’)
<i>-bi-li</i>	‘move away’
<i>-bi-li</i>	inchoative
<i>-dha-li</i>	‘eating’
<i>-ga-li</i>	‘pierce’
<i>-ma-li</i>	‘do, do with hand, cause’
<i>-mi-li</i>	‘do with eye, look’
<i>-wa-li</i>	‘put in’
<i>-wi-li</i>	‘move away’
<i>-ya-li</i>	‘speaking’
<i>-rra-li</i>	‘move into’
<i>-dha-li</i>	‘eat’
<i>-uwi-y</i>	‘back’
<i>*-dhi-li</i>	‘do with foot’

Table 3-5b: Morphemes for use stem-initially in compound verb stems

<b>morpheme</b>	<b>gloss</b>
<i>burra-</i>	‘change, new’
<i>bun-</i>	‘change, new’
<i>dha-</i>	‘test’
<i>dhiya-</i>	‘lift up’
<i>dhu-</i>	‘move (transitive)’
<i>dhuwi-</i>	‘go into’
<i>ga-</i>	‘break’
<i>gaya-</i>	‘move in circles’
<i>manu-</i>	‘do to someone else’s (pejorative)’
<i>wii-</i>	‘lie down’
<i>buu-</i>	‘breath, air’
<i>yan-</i>	‘join up with’
<i>yila-</i>	‘sit on’
<i>miin-</i>	‘to agent’
<i>?wali-</i>	‘negative feeling’

### 3.4.8 Potential new Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay verbs

Below are some potential new GY verbs. These potential words need to be checked against the existing Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay vocabulary to see that they are not likely to cause confusion because similar forms already exist. While some of the potential words below are the result of looking for translations of English words others are more a matter of exploring the possibilities of forming compounds with the morphemes described in this chapter.

Many of the potential words coined below depend on information about Wangaaybuwan. The production of further Wangaaybuwan and Wiradjuri wordlists will greatly assist the production of new Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay words. Also if the process of word production continues people's skills will develop and it will be easier and quicker to produce good new words. A '◇' after a word indicates that the formation of the word is discussed at the end of the table.

Table 3-6: Possible new verbs for Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay

English	possible GY	morphemes/comment
'pedal'	* <i>dhu-dhi-li</i>	'move – do with foot'
	* <i>gaya-dhi-li</i>	'move in circle – do with foot'
'kick'◇	* <i>bu-dhi-li</i>	'hit – do with foot'
'drive'◇	* <i>dhurriya-y</i>	extension of 'ride (horse)'
	* <i>dhurriya-li</i>	modification of 'ride (horse)'
	* <i>banaga-y-ma-li</i>	'run – causative'
	* <i>dhuba-y-ma-li</i>	'point – causative'
'close'◇	* <i>ngunma-li</i>	GY <i>ngunmal</i> – 'enclosure'
	* <i>ngunba-li</i>	borrowing from WB
'open'◇	* <i>bun.ga-ma-li</i>	'open – do with hand'
'read'◇	* <i>yawa-li</i>	extension of meaning of 'track'
	* <i>dhiya-mi-li</i>	'pick up – do with eye'.
'convince'◇	* <i>burra-ya-li</i>	'change – say'
'interrogate'	* <i>dha-ya-li</i>	'test – say'
'praise'	* <i>gaba-ya-li</i>	'good – say'
'blame'	* <i>gagil-ya-li</i>	'bad – say'
'discuss'	* <i>gaya-ya-li</i>	'move in circles – say'
'pump'	* <i>gaya-bi-li</i>	'turn – move away' based on the concept of an impeller in the pump.
'console'◇	* <i>gayaa-ya-li</i>	'happy – say'
	* <i>gayaa-ma-li</i>	'happy – cause/do with hand'
	* <i>gayaa-ba-li</i>	'happy – cause'
	* <i>binaal-ya-li</i>	'peaceful – say'
	* <i>binaal-ma-li</i>	'peaceful – cause/do with hand''



	<i>*binaal-ba-li</i>	‘peaceful – cause’
‘please’	<i>*gayaa-ma-li</i>	‘happy – cause’
	<i>*gayaa-ba-li</i>	‘happy – cause’
‘increase’	<i>*dhiya-ba-li</i>	‘lift up – cause’
‘decrease’	<i>*wii-ba-li</i>	‘move down – cause’
‘take off’ intransitive		
	<i>*dhiya-bi-y</i>	‘move up-move away’ e.g. an aeroplane
‘inspect, examine (visually)’		
	<i>*dha-mi-li</i>	‘test-eye’
‘weigh down’	<i>*wiiwa-li</i>	calque of WB <i>wirriwa-li</i>
‘agree, allow’	<i>*ngaa-m-ba-li</i>	‘yes-say’, calque of WB <i>ngaawaambay</i>
‘disagree, forbid’◇	<i>*waal-ba-li</i>	‘no-say’, calque of WB <i>wangaay-ba-y</i>
	<i>*gamil-ba-li</i>	‘no-say’, calque of WB <i>wangaay-ba-y</i>
‘dislike’◇	<i>*wali-mi-li</i>	‘negative feeling-look at/eye’
‘be fond of’	<i>*dharaambi-li</i>	borrowing from WB
‘fail’◇	<i>*gula-ba-y/gula-ba-li</i>	‘?fail-cause’
‘talk straight’◇	<i>*bilaa-ya-li</i>	‘spear-talk’, calque from Wiradjuri
	<i>*warragil-ya-li</i>	‘straight-talk’

#### notes on the above potential GY words

##### ‘kick’

GY has the borrowed English word *gigima-li/gigirri-ma-li* – ‘kick’. It could be replaced by *\*bu-dhi-li* – ‘hit – do with foot’.

##### ‘drive (vehicle)’

Arthur Dodd uses *budhu-li* for ‘drive’, but this is very atypical of I class verbs since the stem ends in /u/. Ted Fields provided *dhurriya-y* – ‘ride (horse)’. This is also unusual in being y class and transitive, and may have originally been *dhurriya-li*. It could be extended to ‘drive’. Other possibilities are *\*dhuba-ma-li* – ‘point – causative’; *\*banaga-y-ma-li* – ‘run-causative’. *Banaga-y* is the word used to describe the movement of vehicles.

##### ‘close’ and ‘open’

*Dhuma-li* is recorded as both ‘shut’ and ‘open’ (door), ‘strip’ and ‘pull out’ in different sources. There may well be some errors in recording here, and so it is better not to adopt the word for common verbs until it has been investigated further. The WB *bun.ga-ma-li* (‘open’ – ‘do with hand’) could be borrowed as ‘open’. Wangaaybuwan has the word *ngunba-li* – ‘close, enclose’ and GY has *ngunmal* – ‘enclosure’. The Wangaaybuwan word can be borrowed and *ngun* is worth investigating as a morpheme ‘closed’.

##### ‘write’, ‘read’

A number of languages, including GY, have extended the word for ‘pierce, spear, carve’ to ‘write’, so GY already has *dhu-rr-i* – ‘write’. No word has been recorded for ‘read’. Two possibilities are: extend the meaning of *\*yawa-li* – ‘track’ (i.e. ‘follow the tracks of’), or *\*dhiya-mi-li* – ‘pick up – do with eye’.

##### ‘convince’.

There is a WB word *burra-ya-li* – ‘change someone’s state by talking’. Both the morphemes in the word, *burra-* – ‘change’ and *ya-li* – ‘say’ are found in GY.

#### ‘console’

A number of possibilities are given for this word, not because they are all equally suitable, but because they illustrate that there are often many ways of conceptualising an action and so many ways of creating the new verb. One variable here are the ‘result’ morpheme - is the consoled person best described as ‘peaceful’ - *binaal* or ‘happy’ - *gayaa*. The other variable is how the person is consoled - is it by what is said so that ‘say’ - *ya-li* is used, by a touch so that ‘do with hand’ - *ma-li* is used, or is a general causative, *ba-li*, more appropriate? There will likely be many other ways of conceptualising ‘console’ and so other potential GY words for this English word.

#### ‘disagree, forbid’

Because the words for ‘no’ *gamil* (Gamilaraay) and *waal* (Yuwaalaraay) are in the language names they are important sociolinguistically, so it might be better if words formed using them are different for the two languages. This is one of the few instances where different GM and YW words are suggested for the one meaning.

#### ‘dislike’

\**wali-mi-li*. As with *burrayali* - ‘change’ above this is both a borrowing from Wangaaybuwan and a word that can be made from GY morphemes.

#### ‘be fond of’

\**dharraambi-li*. This word could be borrowed from Wangaaybuwan on the basis that it is a very common concept, many Australian languages have such a word, GY does not and it would be a useful word in everyday GY. There is no obvious way to construct a GY word ‘be fond of, like’ at this stage so the option is to borrow.

#### ‘fail’

This is included as an example of a word at the early stages of investigation. It is a very tentative proposal. A word for ‘fail’ would be useful. Wangaaybuwan has *gula-ma-y* – ‘hunt without catching anything’ (*ma-y* is a general intransitive suffix) and *gula-mi-li* – ‘miss, unable to follow’ (*mi-li* - ‘see, eye’) These suggest a new morpheme, *gula* – ‘fail’ which might be borrowed into GY and combined with *-ba-li* - causative.

#### ‘talk straight’

Wiradjuri has *dhuuluu* – ‘spear’ (noun) and *dhuuluu-ya-la* – ‘talk straight’. GY has *bilaarr* – ‘spear’ and *warragil* – ‘straight’, so two possible words for ‘talk straight’ are \**bilaa-ya-li* and \**warragil-ya-li*.

The above are only a small sample of words that could be proposed, and show that the greater the familiarity with the range of processes and sources of words and morphemes the better the proposed words will be.

## 4 Forming new Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay nominals

### 4.1 Introduction

As previously stated the current lexicon of Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay (GY) is an impoverished one. Only a small part of the traditional lexicon has been recorded and there has been very limited production of new words. Soon after the arrival of Europeans GY was still a very alive language and new words were formed such as *dhimba* – ‘sheep’, *gumbadhaa* – ‘iron, steel’, *wanda* – ‘white man’ and *wilbaarr* and *mudhaga* – both ‘motorcar’. However as GY use declined that word production came to a halt.

Nominals are a very important part of the lexicon and this chapter looks at some GY methods of forming nominals. It begins with a brief analysis of the word classes of GY nominals, then looks at derivational processes which form new nominals. Nominals are mostly formed from other nominals and from verbs, though they can also be formed from adverbs (cf Comrie and Thompson, 1985:350). At times the meaning of the word produced is predictable but at other times it is idiosyncratic (cf Blake, 1979:79). Some processes are fully or very productive, but others have limited productivity and result in a small number of new roots. In this chapter

4.2 examines the formation of new nominals by adding suffixes to existing nominals,

4.3 considers reduplication and

4.4 looks at nominalisation of verbs.

Compound nominals are treated in Chapter 5. Included in the section on suffixing is the definition of a number of previously undefined GY suffixes.

There are major differences between lexical derivation and other parts of grammar. Many sections of grammar, such as syntax, are generally highly structured and predictable. Lexical formation however does not share these qualities as pointed out in Anderson (1985:201). While the shape of words, including derived words, is often subject to definite grammatical rules, the meaning or meanings of the word are often idiosyncratic, that is there is no way of arriving at the meanings from the component parts. For instance the English word ‘driver’ is a perfectly regular nominalisation of a verb ‘drive’, but there is no way of predicting that it will be used for a golf club and some types of computer software (‘printer driver’). These meanings are understandable but not predictable.

In the opposite direction, if one starts with an object or concept there is generally no obvious name for it, but a range of possible names. One country's 'mobile phone' is another's 'cell phone' and another's 'telefonino' = 'little telephone' and other names could be found. Suggestions for 'beer' in GY have included the GY words for 'urine', 'yellow water', 'headache', 'brown thing', 'brown water' and the one currently adopted in Walgett, *badha-gali* - 'bitter water'. Other Australian languages have extended their word for 'spit' to also mean 'beer'.

A language which is quite active will often have a large range of well defined word forming patterns. For instance in English there are the affixes 'un-', 'anti-', 'dis-', '-able', '-ness' and many more. In GY the range of word forming processes has been greatly reduced by the loss of information about the language. Some new grammatical information may be found in the GY source material, for instance the new morphemes described in chapter three. However it is to be expected that much information about how GY used form new words will never be found. Part of the work of this thesis is to expand the range of available word forming strategies by reviewing the GY sources and defining new suffixes and patterns they contain. I also point out some suffixes that can be borrowed from neighbouring languages.

As explained elsewhere in the thesis the main sources used here are the existing GY grammars, mainly Williams (1980), the primary GY sources and the grammars of related Australian languages especially Donaldson's 'Grammar of Wangaaybuwan' (1980). Wangaaybuwan, when studied, had a substantial group of quite fluent speakers and so much more lexical and grammatical information than is available in any of the GY sources. There are considerably more nominal suffixes recorded for Wangaaybuwan than for GY indicating the relative paucity of GY information. Some of the Wangaaybuwan suffixes help clarify the meaning of related GY suffixes. Some Wangaaybuwan suffixes with no equivalent in GY are recommended for borrowing into GY.

#### **4.1.1 Nominal word classes in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay**

GY nominals can be divided into nouns and adjectives on functional and structural grounds. Both nouns and adjectives have case marking. Nouns can be the head of a Noun

Phrase and can be the sole constituent of a Noun Phrase. Adjectives cannot fill either of these roles. They are dependent elements of Noun Phrases and are used in sentences such as:

- (4-1) *gaba nhama yinarr*  
 good that woman  
 The woman is good.

The word *yinarr* – ‘woman’ is a noun and *gaba* – ‘good’ is an adjective. However the division is not absolute. Some words have been found exclusively as nouns or as adjectives. Others function predominantly one and very rarely as the other. For instance *gagil* – ‘bad’ occurs only a few times as a noun. Other words can function frequently as an adjective or a noun, for instance *wamu* – ‘fat’, shown below.

- (4-2) *wamu nhama dhayn*  
 fat the (Aboriginal) man  
 That is a fat (Aboriginal) man.  
 “He’s a fat blackfellow.” (wamu is an adjective here)

- (4-3) *ngaay-bala gaarra-y nguu bigibila-gu wamu-gu*  
 mouth-Contrast rub-Past he porcupine-Genitive fat-Inst  
 Then he rubbed (his) mouth with porcupine fat.  
 “and he rubbed some porcupine fat on it” (wamu is a noun here)

Some words listed in current wordlists as adjectives, such as *barraay* – ‘fast’ and *baluwaa* – ‘slow’, are functionally not adjectives. See 1.2.2.1.

## 4.2 Nominal suffixes which form new stems

The contribution to lexical expansion of section 4.2 is in three main areas. The major part is in the description of processes for forming new GY words using previously defined, newly defined and borrowed suffixes. Two lesser areas are the definition of new GY suffixes from source material and a proposal for GY to borrow some Wangaaybuwan suffixes (with appropriate phonotactic adaptation).

The GY nominal suffixes vary considerably in the extent to which they are useful in forming ‘new words’. Suffixes can be divided into syntactic (case marking - ergative, locative, etc), inflectional suffixes (e.g. plural) and derivational. There are differences in the extent to which each group is used in forming new words and in the predictability of the

meaning of the new words. Syntactic case markers are not widely used in forming new lexemes in GY. Inflectional suffixes such as plural and diminutive are used to form new lexemes but other suffixes such as the comitative are more commonly used in this way. The comitative suffix is an example of what Donaldson (1980:107) refers to as the group of suffixes which ‘derive nominal stems with a different reference from the root’ and it is this group of suffixes which are most productive for forming new words.

Another way of distinguishing between suffixes which are lexically productive and others is to consider what other suffixes can follow them. Syntactic suffixes cannot generally be followed by other suffixes, while inflectional and derivational ones can.

Some examples will illustrate the different productivity of suffixes in forming new stems. The GY ergative suffix is *-Gu* and no example has been found of the ergative suffix forming a new stem. This contrasts with *-(b)iyaay* - the YW comitative suffix. It is found in *milam-biyaay* – ‘milk-having’. *Milam-biyaay* has two meanings. It is an adjective: ‘having milk, milky’ and is also a noun ‘cow’. This second use of *-biyaay* is the one that has the unpredictable, idiosyncratic meaning, but both uses of *milam-biyaay* can be suffixed, for instance:

*milam-biyaay-gu*            ‘cow + Genitive’ = ‘cow’s’

*milam-biyaay-a gungan-da-* ‘milky-Locative water-Locative’ = ‘in the milky water’.

Other suffixes such as *-wan* – ‘with prominent’ have been found only with idiosyncratic use. The meaning of this suffix is not recoverable from the corpus and is known only because it was recorded from an informant by Ian Sim (1999).

The productivity of suffixes varies greatly. The ‘-ing’ suffix on verbs in English has a very high degree of productivity. However the *-ed* - ‘past tense’ suffix in English is more restricted and does not occur on ‘go, hit’ and many other verbs. In GY the general plural suffix, *-galgaa*, is very productive but the diminutive plural, *-gal*, is found on very few words.

One can only expect to recover a small fraction of the details of suffix productivity in traditional GY. This detailed knowledge is generally not expressible in generalisations. For

instance there is no easy way of knowing which words in English do not form their plurals with 's'. Each word needs to be learnt. That sort of detailed information has not been recorded in GY. Therefore one must expect the GY equivalents of 'hit-ed' will be part of a revitalised language. This sort of over-generalisation or leveling is inevitable in language revival and in fact has the advantage of simplifying the structure of the language and making it easier to learn.

Clearly syntactical suffixes tend to be a closed set. However for lexical (word production) suffixes this is not the case. In English lexical reanalysis has resulted in new derivational affixes 'Mc-' (as in McDonalds, meaning something like 'universal, cheap, nasty and predictable' and used in 'McJob', 'McPay', McLibel, 'McMotel' 'McUniversity') and '-burger' (as in 'ham-burger', 'cheese-burger', 'vegie-burger'). Lexical suffixes are a relatively open word class and so it is appropriate to develop new ones in GY.

As well as suffixes with very specific meanings there are suffixes which have a very broad meaning and the meanings of words formed with the latter often need to be defined – in other words they typically form words with idiosyncratic meaning. Such a suffix is illustrated by the English words 'deliver-y', 'grocer-y', 'bug-gy', 'water-y', 'bugger-y', 'Bill-y', 'trann-y' (transistor radio), 'foot-y' (the ball and the game) and 'truck-y' (truck-driver). The suffix '-y' is widely used and part of its usefulness is that it can carry a wide range of meanings.

This sort of suffix can be called a 'neutral suffix' since it need not have a defined meaning. The Maori Language Commission (c1996:9) describes three similar Maori prefixes 'tai', 'taa' and 'tau' which 'in some cases appear not to change the meaning of the base word they are attached to. ... The usefulness of these lies in that fact that they may be added to an existing word as a means of creating a new gloss, thereby marking that gloss as being similar, but not identical, to the original word in terms of meaning.' While these affixes are found in pairs of related Maori words the Commission has not yet to use this strategy in forming new words.

A number of GY suffixes will be considered below. Some of them have been previously defined and have clear form and meaning. For others the amount of information varies –

from many examples with clear meanings to at times only a few occurrences with uncertain meaning. Each suffix will be evaluated in terms of its reliability and utility. Some suffixes which are not particularly well attested will be proposed for further use on the basis that they will be useful, or that similar suffixes exist in related languages. Still others are put on a watching brief. They are not recommended for use unless more is found out about them. Where a suffix is recommended for use in word formation some possible uses are generally given.

When there are a number of potential suffixes with indistinguishable meanings (such as –*gaali*, –*gayaluu*, –*gali* – ‘dweller’, below) one, generally the best attested, is adopted for regular use. The others may be used for related meanings. Where one suffix has a number of meanings, one meaning is generally adopted for use in word formation and the others not used. This, it is hoped, will make the very difficult task of language revival simpler. If and when the language is stronger some of these provisions will probably be overtaken by the then less engineered growth of the language. The status of each suffix is given as it is discussed and then in summary form in the tables at the end of section 4.2.

#### **4.2.1 Case suffixes**

Table 1-7 lists GY syntactic case suffixes. These are rarely used to form new words in GY although suffixes quite similar to case suffixes do occur on a few new words.

No examples have been found of new stems formed with the ergative/instrumental suffix or with the circumstantial suffix. The suffix form –*gu* is used for a number of GY cases – genitive, ablative, purposive and benefactive. The only new stem found incorporating –*gu* is *milgumilgu* – ‘watchful’; *mil* is ‘eye’. The very rare use of this form means that it is not suitable for use in production of new words. It is not recommended that this form or the ergative/instrumental and circumstantial suffixes be used for new word creation.

There are a number of stems which may incorporate a locative suffix. Langloh-Parker (1905:143) has *buyu-ga/buyu-gaa* – ‘leg-ga/gaa’ as ‘centipede’ and *dhiil-a* as a the name of a girl born under a *dhiil* tree. Both *buyu-ga* and *dhiil-a* include the normal forms of the locative suffix. There are a number of other words which include forms very similar to locative suffixes. The word for ‘bowerbird’ is *wiidhaa*. It is quite likely that this name



involves a word play on *wii-dja* - ‘fire-Locative’ = ‘on the fire’ since there is a story in which the wedgetail eagle throws bowerbird on a fire. (*wiidhaa* may also involve a play on the word *wii* - ‘intelligent’). Langloh Parker (1905:147) also has *weedegah* (= *wiidhagaa* in current orthography) as ‘bachelor’s camp’ and this is similar in form to, and probably derived from *wiidhaa-ga* - ‘bowerbird-Locative’. Another word which may incorporate a locative suffix is *muyudhaa* - ‘nostrils’ (*muyu* - ‘nose’); *-dha* occurs at times as the locative suffix (on words ending in *aay*). The town of Bundarra (*bandaarr-a* in GY orthography) maybe based on *bandaarr* - ‘kangaroo’. The standard locative is *bandaa-ya*. These examples are included in the table below.

<u>compound stem</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>possibly related locative</u>	
<i>dhiila</i>	a name	<i>dhiil-a</i>	‘dhiil tree-Locative’
<i>buyuga(a)</i>	‘centipede’	<i>buyu-ga</i>	‘leg-Locative’
<i>wiidhaa</i>	‘bowerbird’	<i>wii-dja</i>	‘fire-Locative’
<i>muyudhaa</i>	‘nostrils’	<i>muyu-ga/dha</i>	‘nose-Locative’
<i>bandaarra</i>	a town	<i>bandaa-ya</i>	‘kangaroo-Locative’

The existence of a few complex lexemes in GY which incorporate the locative suffix and other which incorporate forms similar to the locative is not, by itself, a strong indication for further such use of the locative suffix. However discussions with other linguists indicate that in many parts of Australia the locative suffix is used to form place and animal names. These two lots of information are enough to legitimise use of the locative suffix to form new GY words, particularly names.

#### **4.2.2 Nominal suffixes which derive stems with the same reference as the root**

I follow Donaldson in dividing the remaining suffixes into two subgroups. The first derive stems with the same reference as the root. For example: *-gaali* - ‘two’ and *-bidi* - ‘big’ occur in *yinarr-gaali* - ‘woman-two’ = ‘two women’ and *maadhaay-bidi* - ‘dog-big’ = ‘big dog’. These suffixes quantify or qualify but the basic referent remains the same (‘woman’ or ‘dog’ in the above examples). They are considered in 4.2.2. The second group derives stems with a different reference from the original word and are basically adjectival. The comitative is a typical example - *gali-biyaay* - ‘water-having’ = ‘wet’ must be used to refer something other than the water, such as *gali-biyaay dhaymaarr* - ‘wet ground’ (*dhaymaarr* - ‘ground’). These are considered in 4.2.3.

The majority of suffixes in section 4.2.2 have to do with quantity or size. These include number suffixes, diminutive suffixes and augmentive suffixes. The first eight are found in the GY corpus. The other suffixes (4.2.2.9-13) are Wangaaybuwan suffixes which are considered for borrowing into GY. The paucity of the GY sources has been pointed out. Therefore when suffixes are found in related languages which have no equivalents in GY it is quite possible that GY had such forms but they were not recorded.

The defining feature of this group of suffixes is that the primary meaning of the derived stem is transparent as in *yinarr-gaali* and *maadhaay-bidi* above. They do form some words with idiosyncratic meaning, and so are useful in production of new words. However these suffixes are not commonly used in this way, so their use in the production of new words should also be limited by comparison with other processes which are more common.

#### 4.2.2.1 –*DHuul* – ‘little, diminutive+’

(the + indicates that the suffix has a broad range of meanings beyond the gloss given)

This is a very common suffix with a range of meanings which are exemplified in the table below. The most common meaning is ‘small’, but others include ‘one’ and ‘just, only’. At times its meaning is not clear.

example	gloss	analysis	suffix gloss	
<i>birralii-djuul</i>	‘baby’	‘child-djuul’	‘small’	( <i>birralii</i> – ‘child’)
<i>dhayn-duul</i>	‘one man’	‘man-one’	‘one’ (only)	( <i>dhayn</i> – ‘man’)
<i>yinarr-duul</i> –	‘a young woman – just arrived at womanhood’	‘woman-just’	‘just, only’	( <i>yinarr</i> – ‘woman’)
<i>gagil-duul</i>	‘unhappy, sorry’	‘bad-duul’	?	( <i>gagil</i> – ‘bad’)
<i>garra-dhuul</i>	place name	‘cracks-dhuul’	?	( <i>garra</i> – ‘crack’)
<i>buyuma-dhuul</i>	‘glutton’	‘dog-dhuul’	?	( <i>buyuma</i> – ‘dog’)
<i>dhii-djuul</i>	‘piece of meat’	‘meat-djuul’	?	( <i>dhii</i> – ‘meat’)
<i>dhariil-duul</i>	place name	‘reeds-duul’	?	( <i>dhariil</i> – ‘reeds’)
<i>mil-duul</i>	place name	‘eye-duul’	?	( <i>mil</i> – ‘eye’)

The suffix is used as a diminutive or to mean ‘one’. It is also used to form a name when attached to something which is characteristic of the place. For example cracks are characteristic of *garra-dhuul*. Following the patterns in the list above the suffix can be used to form new stems such as:

possible word	analysis	gloss/use
* <i>wuu-dhuul</i>	‘dust-dhuul’	a place name for a dusty spot
* <i>dhuyu-dhuul</i>	‘snake-dhuul’	‘dangerous’ (following the pattern in <i>buyuma-dhuul</i> )

#### 4.2.2.2 *-ili* – ‘little, diminutive’ (affectionate use)

This fairly rare suffix has not been previously described. It is defined by Sim (1999:87) as ‘diminutive, affectionate, exactly as in Johnny’. It occurs in *dhagaan-ili* which is also the familiar name of the owlet nightjar (a bird) and has an affectionate connotation and in *Ganhan-b-ili* which is the name of one of the Creator’s wives.

example	analysis	suffix gloss
<i>dhagaan-ili</i>	‘older brother-little’ = ‘little older brother’	‘little’ (affectionate)
<i>Ganhan-b-ili</i>	‘pig weed-little’ = ‘little pig weed’,	‘little’

The two examples and Sim’s description all involve kin terms or names, so the suffix is more suited to those contexts, however *-ili* however could also be used to form roots such as:

\**guba-n-ili*                      ‘koala-ili’ = ‘teddy bear’

When a possible idiosyncratic use such as ‘teddy bear’ is suggested, it is important to realise that these are just suggestions, illustrations of possible uses. No decision has been made about adopting the possible word into GY.

#### 4.2.2.3 *-bidi* – ‘big, augmentive’

There is a common suffix *-bidi* which is attached to nouns and adjectives and is usually translated as ‘big’. It is most commonly attached to ‘*burrul* – ‘big’ to give *burrul-bidi* – ‘great big’. Another common combination is *wamu-bidi*:

- (4-4) *wamu-bidi nhama milan dhayn*  
 fat-big    the    one    (Aboriginal) man  
 That big fat (Aboriginal) man.  
 “big fat fellow”                      Fred Reece 2435B

The meaning is totally regular in the first two examples below but idiosyncratic in *dhalay-bidi*.

example	analysis	suffix gloss
<i>maayama-bidi</i> –	‘stone-big’ = ‘big stone’	‘big’
<i>yili-bidi</i>	‘lips-big’ = ‘big lips’	‘big’
<i>dhalay-bidi</i>	‘tongue-big’ = ‘talkative person’	‘big’

The only unpredictable use of *-bidi* found is in *dhalay-bidi*. Similar idiomatic use is the one most recommended for *-bidi* in forming new words. The following examples are tentative.

It would be better to have idioms from other Australian languages to calque, rather than the English calques below.

root	compound	possible assigned meaning
<i>dhina</i> – ‘foot’	* <i>dhina-bidi</i>	someone who puts his foot in it, clumsy
<i>muyu</i> – ‘nose’	* <i>muyu-bidi</i>	busybody
<i>dhaygal</i> – ‘head’	* <i>dhaygal-bidi</i>	a ‘swelled head’, egotist
<i>mara</i> – ‘hand’ (GM)	* <i>mara-bidi</i>	light fingered, a thief

#### 4.2.2.4 –*galgaa* – ‘general plural’

There are two plural suffixes in GY, –*galgaa* and –*gal*. Their use had not been previously distinguished. One, –*gal* is a diminutive plural which occurs only on a few words and is discussed below. The other, –*galgaa*, is the general ‘plural’ suffix. Its most common use is on *yinarr* – ‘woman’ and *dhayn* – ‘man’ but it is also on words for animals, on *birralii* – ‘child’ and *bubaay* – ‘little ones’ (meaning children) and occasionally on inanimate things. It occurs once with unpredicted meaning in a wordlist by Langloh Parker (1898:13) as *maa-galgaa* – ‘fingers’ (*maa* – ‘hand’ (YW)). This example and the use of another quantitative suffixes in word formation is enough to justify use of –*galgaa* in the formation of new words, though the few examples extant indicate that these quantitative suffixes should not be used frequently for this purpose.

#### 4.2.2.5 –*gal* – ‘immature plural+’

I gloss this newly defined suffix ‘immature plural’. It occurs fairly commonly on the GY tapes, but only as *birralii-gal* – ‘child-gal’ = ‘children’ except for one occurrence as *birray-gal* – ‘boy-gal’ = ‘boys’. When ‘plural’ is marked elsewhere it is with –*galgaa*. This is a very restricted suffix used only on words referring to young people. A wordlist in The Australasian Anthropological Journal (Vol 1 no 1, Aug 1896:?) has *bumbigal/bambigal* – ‘fingers and toes’. This use of –*gal* is consistent with the ‘immature plural’ definition, but the definition of *bumbi/bambi* is unknown. There is a homophonous suffix considered in 4.2.3.11. A possible new word is

\**bayangurr-gal* ‘young animal-gal’ ‘litter’ (of young animals)

#### 4.2.2.6 –*gaali* – ‘a group of two’

This is a newly described GY suffix meaning ‘two’. Like –*galgaa* above its use is generally predictable. However Sim (p.c.) remembers *wirri-gaali* – ‘bowl-two’ as a name for a goat, based on the goat’s udder looking like two bowls. This is another example of idiosyncratic

use of a quantitative suffix but such use is uncommon. Below are some possible new words formed with *-gaali*.

compound	analysis	possible assigned meaning
* <i>wanggal-gaali</i>	‘roller-two’:	‘bicycle’
* <i>ngarra-l-gaali</i>	‘look-l-two’;	‘binoculars’ ( <i>ngarral</i> as a nominalised form of the verb <i>ngarra-li</i> – ‘see’)
* <i>garra-l-gaali</i>	‘cut-l-two’	‘scissors’ ( <i>garra-l</i> as a nominalised form of the verb <i>garra-li</i> – ‘cut’)

#### 4.2.2.7 *-(g)aa* – ‘senior?’

The suffix *-(g)aa* -‘senior’ is a hypothesised form based on the words listed below. There are only a small number of words but they are found in a number of sources (Sim (1999), Langloh-Parker (1905) and the tapes).

example	analysis	gloss	suffix gloss
<i>wayamaa-ga</i>	‘old-man-ga’	‘old man’	?
<i>wayamaa-galaa</i>	‘old-man-galaa’	‘old man’	?
<i>yinarr-aa</i>	‘woman-aa’	‘head woman, lady, a title of respect’	‘senior, respect’
<i>yinarr-aa-galaa</i>	‘woman-aa-galaa’	‘head woman, lady, a title of respect’	‘senior, respect’

These examples are typical of a number of potential suffixes. A number of similar forms are attached to known words and there is some commonality in meaning. One options is to define a suffix for use in GY, even though the form and meaning are uncertain. The other is to not define a suffix. In the context of language revival more language resources are needed rather than less, and so suffixes can be defined on the basis of limited information.

Here neither the basic form of the suffix nor its meaning is clear. Also *-galaa* is the augmentive plural suffix in Wangaaybuwan so it is possible, but not all that likely, that the ‘*-galaa*’ forms above are actually plurals, but unrecognised as such by the recorders. It may also well be that the short vowel on *-ga* is an error of recording. There is enough evidence to propose a suffix *-gaa*, (*-aa* after *-rr*) which is a sign of respect or senior status. It could be attached to other people words such as *mari* – ‘Aboriginal person’ (GM), *dhayn* ‘Aboriginal person/man’ (YW), *giwirr* – ‘Aboriginal man’ (GM).

#### 4.2.2.8 *-Luu?* – ‘all possible’

This is another newly, but partially, defined GY suffix. It needs further work to clarify the form, but its meaning is pointed to by Donaldson (1980:76) when she discusses the similar

Wangaaybuwan suffix, *-bu*: ‘*-bu* makes the reference of the form to which it is attached universal, with reference to the universe of reference established by the context in which the form is used.’ Some examples from the GY corpus are:

<u>example</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>suffix gloss</u>
<i>ngiyani-luu</i>	‘we(3 or more)-all’	‘all of us’	‘all possible’
<i>ngiyani-yuu</i>	‘we(3 or more)-all’	‘all of us’	‘all possible’
<i>ngali-lu</i>	‘we(2)-all’	‘both of us’	?
<i>ganunga-wu</i>	‘they-all’	‘all of them’	‘all possible’
<i>garriya-wu</i>	‘don’t-all’	‘wait a while’	
<i>giirr-uu</i>	‘truly-all’	‘absolutely’	?‘all possible’

Most of the GY examples involve pronouns but Wangaaybuwan use of *-bu* is much wider. Donaldson (1980:79) gives ‘Someone described eating wild apple *dhagun-buwan-bu* - ‘dirt-with-all’ = ‘dirt and all’. The use of this or a similar suffix in *garriya-wu* above has to do with time and awaits further investigation. The suffix is suitable for idiosyncratic stem formation and some possible uses include:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>dhaymaarr-uu</i>	‘earth-all’	‘the planet’
* <i>minya-gaa-luu</i>	‘something-all’	‘the universe’

#### 4.2.2.9 *-buy* – ‘in a group (more than 2)’

Note that the remaining suffixes in 4.2.2 are Wangaaybuwan suffixes being considered for borrowing into GY. They are not proposed for use in creating new words. Donaldson (1980:102) has ‘*-buy* is attached to personal names [but not to other words]’ and gives the examples:

- (4-5) *Mamie-gam-buy manabi-nhi*                      (-*gam* is the proper name suffix)  
‘Mamie, together with more than one other person, went hunting.’
- (4-6) *Mamie-gam-buy manabi-nhi / Eva-gam-buy / Amy-gam-buy / Gracie-gam-buy ...*  
‘Mamie and Eva and Amy and ...the rest of the group went hunting.’  
(mentioning as many of the group as desired.)

The proposed use and form in GY is as in WB.

#### 4.2.2.10 *-galaydjaa* – ‘reciprocal plural’

Donaldson (1980:103) lists the suffix *-galaydjaaN-* and explains ‘Two or more people who stand in a reciprocal social or kinship relation to one another may be referred to together as

a group by attaching *-galaydjaaN-* to the term designating the relationship involved.’ The use of the suffix is shown in the Wangaaybuwan examples below:

WB example	analysis	gloss
<i>ngubaan-galaydjaaN-</i>	‘spouse-reciprocal’	‘married couple’
<i>yuungin-galaydjaaN-</i>	‘company-reciprocal’	‘a group of companions’

The proposed cognate GY suffix *\*galaydjaa* can be used in the same way, as shown below.

possible compound	analysis	possible assigned meaning
<i>*guliirr-galaydjaa</i>	‘spouse-reciprocal’	married couple
<i>*dhagaan-galaydjaa</i>	‘brother-reciprocal’	a group of brothers
<i>*maliyaa-galaydjaa</i>	‘friend-reciprocal’	a group of friends
<i>*gambaay-galaydjaa</i>	‘sweetheart-reciprocal’	a pair of sweethearts

#### 4.2.2.11 *-girrba* – ‘party’, ‘a mob’

The Wangaaybuwan form is *-girrbaN-* and it means ‘a party or “mob” of people of the type indicated by the stem to which it is attached. It is also attached to *gurrugun* – ‘cattle’ (Donaldson 1980:105). She also gives the example:

- (4-7) *baawangay-girrba=ning-gal*                      *ga-ra*  
           Baagandji-Party+ABS=3ABS+VIS-PL be-PRES  
           ‘They’re a mob of Baagandji blacks.’

The use of *-girrba* in GY would be the as in Wangaaybuwan, attached to roots describing people or animals. It is different to *-gal* – ‘mob’ (4.2.3.11) which is attached to a descriptor rather than to a word indicating the actual members of the ‘mob’.

#### 4.2.2.12 *-gaN-* – ‘proper name marker’

This and the following two Wangaaybuwan suffixes are not recommended for current use in GY. However they might be adopted in future. The suffix *-gaN-* is attached to proper names in Wangaaybuwan except when they are used addressing the bearer of the name. Donaldson (1980:106) points out that similar suffixes are used in other Australian languages, sometimes also attached to kin words and a few other words. Morelli (p.c.) points out that Gumbaynggirr, a New South Wales coastal language, has a proper name suffix which is attached to proper names, kin terms and social section names in certain circumstances. No such suffix has been defined for GY. It is possible that *-DHi* is a GY proper name marker since kin terms often occur in two forms, one of which is with suffixed *-DHi*. This is not to propose that the Wangaaybuwan suffix be borrowed, but rather to note

that the existence of a suffix in Wangaaybuwan and many other languages encourages further investigation about such a suffix in GY.

#### 4.2.2.13 *–galaaN-* – ‘late, deceased’

Donaldson (1980:106) lists the suffix *–galaaN-* meaning ‘late, deceased.’ There is a GY word, *guuguu* which refers to any dead person, particularly a relative. The word formed with *–galaaN-* is more specific, since it includes a kin term (aunt-galaa = ‘poor old aunt’). A suffix like this is not an urgently needed GY lexeme, but if it is found that related languages have such a suffix it is likely GY did as well and it would be good to find or adopt one.

### 4.2.3 Nominal suffixes which derive stems with a different reference from the root

These suffixes will be much more productive than those previously discussed in forming new lexemes/words since that is their main function. They are intrinsically derivational, whereas most of the suffixes in the previous section are intrinsically inflectional. Within this group there is also a continuum from suffixes such as *–(b)araay/- (b)iyaay* – ‘with’, which are largely used with predictable meaning to those such as *–wan* – ‘with prominent’ which occur only in words of idiosyncratic meaning. The last two suffixes (4.2.3.17/18) are Wangaaybuwan suffixes considered for borrowing into GY

#### 4.2.3.1 *–(b)araay, (GM) –(b)iyaay (YW)* – ‘with’

Comitative suffixes are common in Australian languages. The GY forms are *–(b)araay* (GM) and *–(b)iyaay* (YW). The initial ‘b’ is dropped after root final ‘rr’ and ‘l’.

The meanings of the suffixes include accompaniment (with mum), property (with hair = ‘hairy’) and weak instrumental (walked with a stick). The suffix is commonly used to form new words, particularly place names. The following examples include some words from neighbouring languages.

example	analysis	gloss
<i>nhari-baraay</i>	‘knot-with’ (knot on tree)	town of Narrabri – place of knotty trees
<i>galariin-baraay</i>	‘Coolabah blossom-with’	town of Collarenebri. The name refers to the Coolabah blossom there
<i>gamil-araay</i>	‘no-with’	language name - Gamilaraay (Austin 1992:4)



<i>yuwaal-araay</i>	‘no-with’	language name - Yuwaalaraay
<i>wirray-djuurray</i>	‘no-with’	language name - Wiradjuri (Hosking and McNicol, 1993:3),
<i>wangaay-buwan</i>	‘no-with’	language name - Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson 1980:4)
<i>wayil-wan</i>	‘no-with’	language name -Wayilwan (Donaldson 1980:4)

There are also a number of GY dialects whose names are formed in the same way as the language names above. The current word for ‘no’ in Yuwaalaraay is *waal*. *Yuwaal* is an archaic form. There are many other words in GY formed with ‘with’. The table lists some and shows that the meaning of the compound word ranges from predictable to very idiosyncratic.

<u>example</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>wubuu-biyaay</i>	‘fungus-with’	‘mouldy’
<i>milam-baraay</i>	‘milk-with’	‘cow, cattle’
<i>dhandarr-iaay</i>	‘frost-with’	‘grey headed, old’
<i>bigan-biyaay</i>	‘rule of law-with’	‘lawful’
<i>yuul-iaay</i>	‘food-with’	‘sated’, ‘pregnant’
<i>yiya-biyaay</i>	‘tooth-with’	‘firestick’; ‘tooth’ refers to the glowing coal of the firestick
<i>dhaal-iaay</i>	‘?-with’	‘fish net’; the only known meaning for <i>dhaal</i> is ‘cheek’ (body part)

The examples show that the suffix is suitable for wide use in creating new words, with the meanings of the created words varying from highly predictable to very idiosyncratic. Some possibilities are listed. Note that each of the possible words below also has a predictable meaning, for instance *dhadhin-iaay* is ‘shadowy’.

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>dhaygal-iaay</i>	‘head-with’	‘smart’, ‘arrogant’
* <i>dhural-iaay</i>	‘noise-with’	‘loudspeaker’, ‘sound system’ ‘radio’
* <i>wuu-biyaay</i>	‘dust-with’	can be used as a place name.
* <i>wamu-biyaay</i>	‘fat-with’	‘butter’, ‘margarine’
* <i>malawil-iaay</i>	‘shadow(YY)-with’	‘television’, ‘movie’, ‘photo’
* <i>dhadhin-iaay</i>	‘shadow(YW)-with’	‘television’, ‘movie’, ‘photo’

The last two examples illustrate the point that when idiosyncratic meanings are proposed there will often be a range of such meaning. Which one is adopted is a matter of choice. While \**malawil-iaay* is based on a word from one dialect it could be used across the

whole GY area. For instance the word *dhina-wan* – ‘foot-with prominent’ = ‘emu’ is used across the whole GY area even though the YY word for foot is *baburr*.

#### 4.2.3.2 *-bil, -bilaay* – ‘with a lot’

There is a previously described GY suffix *-bil* – ‘having a lot of’. There are also a small number of examples involving suffixes which are formally and semantically similar to *-bil*. I first consider the meaning of *-bil* and then the other suffixes. Sentence 4-8 is consistent with the meaning of *-bil* given above. However *-bil* is also translated as ‘covered with’ by Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece. This meaning is not necessarily inconsistent with ‘with a lot’ but there is the possibility that the current gloss could be refined. Arthur Dodd says that the town name Coonamble comes from *guna-m-bil* – ‘covered in faeces’.

- (4-8) *dhaymaarr-bil ngay ngaay*  
 earth-With lots my mouth  
 “My mouth is full of dirt.”

I now consider a number of words which contain potential suffixes which include the syllable *bil* and whose meaning is related to that of *-bil*. There are only a few words, mostly from Sim (1999).

example	analysis	gloss
<i>guway-bila(a)</i>	‘blood- <i>bil</i> - <i>a(a)</i> ’	‘red star’
<i>dharra-bilay</i>	‘thigh- <i>bil</i> - <i>ay</i> ’	‘daddy long legs’, a spider with long legs
<i>dhirra-bilaay</i>	‘tooth- <i>bil</i> - <i>aay</i> ’	‘smiling’. <i>dhirra</i> is not a current GY term for ‘tooth’, but is found in compound words

It may be that there are irregular forms *-bilay/-bilaay/-bila(a)* with the same meaning as *-bil*, or the meaning of this suffix of suffixes may have originally been different from that of *-bil*. Any difference in meaning has not been recorded.

This is a situation where further investigation may clarify the meaning of the various forms. In the meantime there are a number of suffixes to choose from. The most common suffix is *-bil* but it is rarely used in lexical construction. On the other hand *-bilaa/-bilay/-bilaay* is of uncertain form (assuming it is one suffix) but always occurs in words with idiosyncratic meaning. Any decision about defining the form and meaning of a further suffix or suffixes will have a degree of arbitrariness, rather than being founded on compelling evidence. Nevertheless the meaning of the suffix/suffixes is a useful one and they can be used to make new words.

A possibility then is to use *-bil* only for mainly for predictable use and to choose one of the others as a suffix for idiosyncratic use. The only reason for preferring one of the above forms is that vowel length is often missed by recorders, so *-bilaay* is slightly preferable to *-bilay*. There are two examples which end in diphthongs and one with a simple vowel so *-bilaay* is slightly preferable to *-bila(a)*. Again this is not strong evidence, but is the only evidence available. The result then is that *-bilaay* is glossed ‘with many, with a lot’ and is assigned as a suffix for idiosyncratic use. Some examples of potential new words are given below.

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>mundi-bilaay</i>	‘spot-covered with’	‘measles’, ‘chicken pox’, ‘leopard’
* <i>wanggal-bilaay</i>	‘roller/wheel with many’	‘semi-trailer’, ‘road train’

#### 4.2.3.3 *-wan* – ‘with prominent’

This is a newly defined GY suffix. Its meaning was recorded by Sim (1999) from his informants at Goodooga in the early 1950’s. It is typically attached to the name of a prominent part of an animal, but does have other uses. While things can be prominent because of their size *-wan* can also be used when other factors cause the prominence. All the corpus occurrences of *-wan* so far found are given in the table below. The last example indicates that the use of *-wan* is not fully captured in the current definition. This suffix occurs only in idiosyncratic words. In other words, when *-wan* is used the meaning of the resultant word cannot be determined from the component parts, as the examples below show. Most words with *-wan* could be analysed as adjectives, but they are only ever used as names of specific things, or in other quite specific ways. The suffix *-wan* could be used to in a predictable way to form adjectives meaning ‘with prominent’. This use of *-wan* has not been found in the corpus but is a legitimate development.

<u>example</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhina-wan</i>	‘foot-with prominent’	‘emu’
<i>bii-wanbii-wan</i> -	‘chest- with prominent’	Reduplicated; ‘black faced woodswallow’ a bird with a prominent white chest.
<i>nhuwi-wan</i>	‘stink-with prominent’	‘stinker’, nickname of the ‘grey kangaroo’
<i>barra-wan</i>	‘?split- with prominent’	‘a sedge’
<i>barraay-wan</i>	‘fast-?’	‘straight away’

While the suffix *-wan* is phonetically similar to the English ‘one’ the use of *-wan* in common words such as *dhinawan* and in morphologically complex words such as *biiwanbiiwan* and *barraay-wan* are strong indications that *-wan* is not a borrowed morpheme. This is a suffix ideally suited to productive use in word creation. The pattern is to take a prominent feature of something, add *-wan* to that noun or adjective and the result is a name.

compound	analysis	GY words for ‘ear’
* <i>bina-wan</i>	‘ear-with prominent’	<i>bina</i> (Gamilaraay)
* <i>manga-wan</i>	‘ear-with prominent’	<i>manga</i> (Walgett)
* <i>wudha-wan</i>	‘ear-with prominent’	<i>wudha</i> (Yuwaalayaay)

These three potential words each could be assigned a meaning. Since the ear is the centre of intelligence in many Aboriginal languages one potential meaning is ‘intelligent’ or ‘perceptive’. Other possible uses include ‘elephant’ and ‘satellite dish’, and there are many more.

#### 4.2.3.4 *-DHalibaa* – ‘without’

This is a common suffix with clear parallels in many Australian languages. Its forms a nominal meaning the absence of the root to which it is attached. Its use is illustrated in sentence 4-9 and in the table. Some meaning are idiosyncratic.

- (4-9) *buunhu-dhalibaa dhaymaarr*  
 grass-Without ground  
 grassless ground  
 “There’s no grass on the ground.”

example	analysis	gloss
<i>guliirr-dalibaa</i>	‘partner-without’	‘unmarried’
<i>buwabil-dalibaa</i>	‘possessions-without’	‘poor’
<i>giyal-dalibaa</i>	‘afraid/fear-without’	‘shameless’
<i>dhalay-djalibaa</i>	‘tongue-without’	‘dumb’
<i>gundirri-djalibaa</i>	‘ <i>gundirri</i> -without’	‘weak’ ( <i>gundirri</i> – meaning not known)
<i>guni-djaa</i>	‘mum-?without’	‘orphan’, ‘black faced cuckoo-shrike’ (a bird)

An abbreviated form possibly occurs in the last example. The suffix also occurs in the common place name *Wii-djalibaa* (Weethalabaa) - ‘fire-without’. The full and abbreviated forms of the suffix are suitable for lexeme creation. Some potential coinages are:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>bina-dhalibaa</i>	‘ear-without’	‘unintelligent’ (if the ear is regarded as the seat of intelligence)
* <i>dhaygal-dalibaa</i>	‘head-without’	‘unintelligent’
* <i>balu-dhalibaa</i>	‘dead-without’	‘immortal’
* <i>yuul-djaa</i>	‘food-without’	‘famine’
* <i>gali-djaa</i>	‘water-without’	‘drought’
* <i>gungan-daa</i>	‘water-without’	‘drought’

#### 4.2.3.5 –*nginda* – ‘wanting’

This suffix is glossed ‘wanting’. Its usual form is *-nginda* but the forms *-ngin* and *-ngindi* are also found. There is no explanation for the variation. Examples of the suffix include:

<u>example</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>yuulngin/yuulngindi</i>	‘food-wanting’	‘hungry’
<i>gungan-nginda</i>	‘water-wanting’	‘thirsty’

No words have been found which use *-ngin* or *-nginda* idiosyncratically, so it is not strongly recommended for such use. Some possible examples are:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>bina-nginda</i>	‘ear-wanting’	‘inattentive’, ‘distracted’
* <i>badha-gali-ngin</i>	‘beer-wanting’	‘an alcoholic’

#### 4.2.3.6 –*giirr* – ‘like, similar to’

The suffix *-giirr* is common and means ‘like, similar to’. It is still used today in Walgett attached to English words. Most people who use it do not realise it is a GY word. Its use is illustrated in the sentence and words below.

- (4-10) *giirru nguu banaga-nhi dhinawan-giirr*  
true he run-Past emu-Like  
He ran like an emu.

<u>example</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>yuluwirri-giirr maayama</i>	‘rainbow-like stone’	opal
<i>manduwi-giirr</i>	‘shoe-like’	name of a type of footwear

This suffix has not been found with idiosyncratic use, yet there does not seem any strong reason why it could not be used to form names the way the comitative suffix is used. Some possible new words are given below.

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>mil-giirr</i>	‘eye-like’	‘camera’
* <i>wudha-giirr</i>	‘ear-like’	‘microphone’
* <i>yiya-giirr</i>	‘tooth-like’	a grinder such as a ‘food processor’, ‘gears’ in an engine

\**dhayn-giirr*

‘man-like’

‘robot’

#### 4.2.3.7 –*gaalu* – ‘pretend’

This suffix is identical to one in Wangaaybuwan which is glossed ‘make believe’. It is well illustrated in the following GY sentence.

- (4-11) *giirr ngaama birralii-gal yulu-gi-laa-nhi ngaama walaay-gaalu*  
 true the child-Plural play-gi-Reg-Past the camp-Pretend  
 The children were playing (in) a pretend house. (cubby house) (Williams 1980:45)

The suffix can be used to form new words such as:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>yarraman-gaalu</i>	‘horse-pretend’	‘toy horse’, and similarly for other such toys
* <i>yulay-gaalu</i>	‘skin-pretend’	‘make up’

#### 4.2.3.8 –(b)*aa* – ‘place of, time of, domain of’

This gloss ‘domain of’ captures something of the broad range of uses of the suffix –(b)*aa* while ‘place of’ and ‘time of’ show its typical uses more clearly. There are also unexplained uses of the suffix. It has the form –*aa* after roots ending in ‘rr’ and ‘l’, although ‘lb’ is a permissible consonant cluster. Donaldson (1980:118) lists a Wangaaybuwan suffix –*baaN* – ‘DOMAIN’ which derives uninflected adverbial forms such as *yurru-baa* – ‘rain-baa’ – ‘in rainy weather’ and *dharriyal-baa* – ‘heat-baa’ – ‘in summertime’, as well as inflected forms such as *ngurram-baa* – ‘camp-baa’ – ‘homeland, tribal territory’. The uninflected forms cannot be followed by other suffixes while the inflected forms can. The inflected forms are nominals. The following table shows some GY occurrences of the suffix.

<u>example</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhandarr-aa</i>	‘frost-baa’	‘winter’
<i>yaay-baa</i>	‘sun-baa’	‘summer’
<i>walaay-baa</i>	‘camp/nest-baa’	‘camping ground’, but <i>walaay-baa</i> is also used as ‘nest’
<i>wagi-baa</i>	‘open ground-baa’	‘plain country’
<i>barran-baa</i>	‘boomerang-baa’	‘brigalow’ (a tree)
<i>burrul-aa</i>	‘big-aa’	‘many’
<i>burrulaa-baa</i>	‘many-baa’	“the whole lot (of yous)”
<i>wanda-baa</i>	‘white man-baa’	‘a spirit’
<i>madhan-baa</i>	‘heavy-baa’	‘heavy’
<i>gurruu-baa</i>	‘hole-u-baa’	‘deep’
<i>dhalay-baa</i>	‘?tongue-baa’	‘sharp’

The way this suffix is used extends beyond the glosses given above. Both *madhan-baa* and *madhan* are glossed ‘heavy’. There is no definition of the role of *-baa* in forming ‘many’ from ‘big’ and in forming adjectives such as ‘deep’ and ‘sharp’. The term *wanda* - ‘white man’ may well be a back formation from *wandabaa* which was a ‘pale spirit’. On the other hand there may well have been a morpheme *wanda* whose earlier meaning has not been recorded.

This is a productive suffix for forming new roots, particularly roots incorporating the meaning ‘time of, place of’. As elsewhere a number of possible meanings are given for each potential word. It will be a matter for GY people to decide which forms and meanings, if any, to adopt.

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>yuul-baa</i>	‘food-baa’	‘kitchen’, ‘restaurant’, ‘dining room’, ‘meal time’
* <i>yuwarr-aa</i>	‘sleep-baa’	‘motel’, ‘hotel’, ‘bedroom’
* <i>mubirr-aa</i>	‘writing (sign, carving, scar)-baa’	‘office’
* <i>wii-baa</i>	‘fire-baa’	‘fireplace’
* <i>gandjibal-aa</i>	‘police-baa’	‘police station’

The suffix *-baa* has not been found on verbs. When processes for nominalisation of verbs are decided on many more possibilities for *-baa* will arise.

* <i>learning-baa</i>	‘school’,
* <i>rest-baa</i>	‘lounge room’,
* <i>game-baa</i>	‘playground’.

#### 4.2.3.9 *-barra* – ‘belonging to the country of the ...; place of’

The suffix *-barra* is relatively common in GY, occurring mostly in the names of groups of people or in adjectives meaning ‘belonging to the country of...’. There are other unexplained uses. According to Dixon (1980:324) ‘The affix *-barra* ‘pertaining to, belonging to (a place) occurs in Yidiny, Dyirbal and most of the languages south of these two in Queensland .. and the names of local groups within tribes typically involve *-barra*.’

Langloh-Parker (1905:145ff) recorded the YW words:

<u>compound</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>source</u>
<i>garrii-barra</i>	belonging to the country of the tree orchid	<i>garrii</i> - ‘orchid’
<i>nhungga-barra</i>	belonging to the country of the kurrajong	<i>nhungga</i> – ‘kurrajong’
<i>mirrii-barra</i>	belonging to the country of the lignum	<i>mirrii</i> - ‘lignum’

*Nhungga-barra* is also the name of the people who lived in the *nhungga-barra* country. Sim (1999) has *nhungga-barra* referring to the tract of country, as well as to the inhabitants. This concept of place rather than inhabitants is reflected in *gayiya-barra* - ‘cobweb’ (below). Another use of the suffix is in the table below and in *dha-l-barra* in sentence 4-12.

<u>example</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>gayiya-barra</i>	‘spider-barra’	‘cobweb’
<i>guway-m-barra</i>	‘blood-m-barra’	‘red’

- (4-12) *giirr ngay buwadj-a-yu gudu dha-l-barra*  
 true my father-Erg codfish eat-l-barra  
 My father eats? cod.  
 “My father eats this fish”.

This last occurrence of *-barra* may be related to the Wangaaybuwan verbal suffix *-warra* – ‘prone to’, although Harvey (1979) argues that the common situation is for GY forms to undergo lenition when borrowed from Wangaaybuwan, and not fortition as in this case.

The suffix *-barra* forms words with a number of related meanings. *X-barrai* can be an adjective: ‘typified by X’, it can also be a noun meaning the ‘place typified by X’ or ‘the people of the place typified by X’. Some potential idiosyncratic uses of *-barra* are:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>banggu-barra</i>	‘money-barra’	‘the rich suburbs’
* <i>waan dha-l-barra</i>	‘crow-eater’	‘South Australian person’
* <i>biibabiiba-barra</i>	‘book-barra’	‘library, librarian, bookshop, bookseller’

The last example above illustrates the usefulness of having a number of related suffixes. There are a number of words associated with books: ‘library, librarian, bookshop, bookseller’ and having a number of suffixes means GY words can be created for the different meanings. In this example *biibabiiba* - ‘book’ could be used to form both \**biibabiiba-baa* and \**biibabiiba-barra* which can be assigned different meanings.

#### 4.2.3.10 *-gayaluu, (-gali, -gaali)* – ‘inhabitant of, dweller in’

These suffixes, like *-barra*, are glossed ‘inhabitant of’ but are distinguished from it by being suffixed to an actual place, rather than to a feature of the place. As with some other suffixes a number of similar forms occur of which one will be recommended for further use. Occurrences of the suffixes include:



<u>example</u>	<u>meaning analysis</u>
<i>Narran.-gayaluu</i>	‘inhabitants/people of the Narran river’
<i>garra-gali</i>	animal like a little rat      lives in <i>garra</i> - ‘ground cracks’
<i>wagaay-gaali</i>	‘Richard’s pipit’ (a bird)      lives on the <i>wagaay</i> – ‘open country/plain’

There are three similar forms but one gloss. In accord with the principle of having only one suffix for each meaning one form needs to be chosen and in this instance *-gayaluu* has a cognate, *-giyaluN-* in Wangaaybuwan and so it is chosen. Possible new words include:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>gungan-gayaluu</i>	‘water-inhabitant’	can be used for any one of a range of animals, e.g. ‘whale’
* <i>gali-djaa-gayaluu</i>	‘water-without-inhabitant’	people from the desert areas
* <i>walaay-gayaluu</i>	‘camp-inhabitant’	‘housewife’

The last two potential uses are calques of forms given in Donaldson (1980:116). The use of such calques can be a very productive source of new words for GY.

#### 4.2.3.11 *-gal* – ‘group, mob’

The suffix *-gal* - ‘group, mob’ has been mentioned above with *-gal* – ‘diminutive plural’ (4.2.2.5). It occurs on two GY words, *dhurrun* – ‘fur’ and *giinbal* – ‘scale’ to form *dhurrun.gal* – ‘the furry ones’ and *giinbalgal* – ‘the scaled ones’ (fish, reptiles). In the GY cosmology all animals and people belong to one of *dhurrun.gal*, *giinbalgal* or *dhigayaa* – ‘birds’. For broader use the suffix will follow the same pattern, having the meaning ‘group’ or ‘mob’ and being attached to the name of some characteristic of the individuals. Some possible uses are:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>banggu-gal</i>	‘money-gal’	‘the rich’
* <i>bulayrr-gal</i>	‘hot-gal’	‘mammals’ (warm blooded)

#### 4.2.3.12 *-uwi* – ‘back’

There is a GY verbal suffix *-uwi-y*, defined by Williams, which means ‘back’. Added to the simple verb it forms ‘walk back’, ‘run back’, ‘talk back’, etc. Its use is illustrated in:

- (4-13) *dhayn-du                  nhama mudhay dhaay gaa-g-uwi-yaa-nha*  
 (Aboriginal) man-Erg the possum to here bring-g-Back-Cont-Pres  
 The man is bringing the possum back.

There are two GY verb stems which include *-uwi* and provide limited evidence for *-uwi* attaching to a nominal to derive a verb stem:

*dhanduwi*-y – ‘lie down, sleep’  
*ngadaluwi*-y – ‘squat’

from *dhaan* – ‘a lean’  
 from *ngadaa* – ‘down’ (the direction)

The suffix also occurs attached to the body part nominal *dhaygal* - ‘head’ to derive *dhaygaluwi* – ‘pillow’. Uncle Ted Fields remembers a similar use of *-uwi* to derive a word for a type of ‘backrest’, but cannot remember the actual word. Proposed words using this pattern are listed below. The form *-uwi* also occurs in *bumaluwi* - ‘hammer’, (*bumal* – ‘instrument for hitting’) but its use here is not obviously related to the other examples. The form also occurs in *wunguwi* - ‘adam's apple’ and this may possibly be formed from the ng class verb *wuu-gi* – ‘go in’ and *-uwi*.

These examples show a suffix which was previously recorded only as a verbal aspectual suffix now deriving verb stems from nominals, nominal stems from nominals, and possibly nominals from verbs. This encourages the word creator to be flexible, even adventurous, in the use of the available tools. Possible new words formed with *uwi* include:

compound	analysis	possible assigned meaning
* <i>murru-w-uwi</i>	‘buttocks-w-uwi’	‘seat, chair’
* <i>gumbul-uwi</i>	‘buttocks-w-uwi’	‘seat, chair’
* <i>bawa-uwi</i>	‘back-uwi’	‘backrest’
* <i>gaay-uwi</i>	‘word-uwi’	‘recorder’ (e.g. tape recorder)
* <i>guwaal-uwi</i> ,	from <i>guwaa-li</i> – <i>talk</i>	‘recorder’ (e.g. tape recorder)

#### 4.2.3.13 –*DHaan* – ‘skilled at (catching)’

There is a Wangaaybuwan suffix *-ngaan* – ‘skilled at catching’ (Donaldson 1980:117) which seemed to have no equivalent in GY but recently some related GY examples were found. Wurm (no date) has *dhidhaan* - ‘good hunter’ (*dhii* – ‘meat’) and when Uncle Ted Fields was asked about this he remembered a word, *dhiidjaan* or *dhaydhaan* – ‘leader of the hunt’ but could not remember *-dhaan* being attached to other words. Later the word *wulbuldhaan/wulbuldaan* – ‘game; riding on bent branch’ was found in Langloh Parker (1905:147). Sim (1999) has *wulbul* – ‘bendy stick’, so *wulbuldaan* also illustrates the form *-DHaan*. A final piece of evidence is *ngarraadhaan* – ‘bat’. This may be from *ngarra-li* – ‘see’ and *dhaan* and relate to the bat’s ability to ‘see’ at night. Another possibly related morpheme is the suffix *-dhaa* which is used by Uncle Ted Fields as ‘very’ and is suffixed to adjectives. These examples are summarised below.

example	gloss of compound	source word	gloss
<i>dhidhaan</i>	‘good hunter’, ‘hunt leader’	<i>dhii</i>	‘meat’
<i>wulbuldhaan</i>	‘game; riding on bent branch’	<i>wulbul</i>	‘bendy stick’

*ngarraadhaan* 'bat' (animal)  
*gaba-dhaa* 'very good'

*ngarra-li* 'see'  
*gaba* 'good'

This is not a lot of evidence, yet the usefulness of the suffix and its equivalent in Wangaaybuwan certainly make *-DHaan* - 'skilled at (catching)' a suffix worth considering for GY. Its meaning could be generalised to 'skilled at'. A colloquial gloss for similar suffixes is 'champion'. It could be used much the way '-ist' is in English, to indicate someone with knowledge and expertise as in 'scientist' and 'violinist'. It does not correspond to the other more general uses of '-ist' as in 'fascist' and 'motorist.' Some possible new words are:

compound	analysis	possible assigned meaning
* <i>yugal-daan</i>	'song- skilled at'	'a good singer', 'a virtuoso'
* <i>yarraaman-daan</i>	'horse- skilled at'	'a skilled rider', 'jockey'
* <i>dhuwarr-daan</i>	'bread- skilled at'	'good baker'
* <i>ngaaluurr-daan</i>	'fish- skilled at'	'good fisher'

#### 4.2.3.14 *-(b)iyān* – 'blossom of, fruit of'

There are a number of words, given below, related to plants and translated 'blossom, fruit or manna of'. Manna is an edible, sugary scale on plants. There is a degree of similarity in the suffixes, but also considerable variety. There is also variety in the extent to which the name of the original plant appears in the name of the blossom/fruit. (compare *birra-wiin* and *galuu-rriin* below with *birraa* and *gulabaa*). The indications are that this is not a current suffix but that a suffix previously existed and that some words which incorporate it have undergone considerable change. Any suffix decided on will be used only to describe the flowers or fruit of species which do not have a name for them.

example	gloss	source plant (if applicable)
<i>birraawiin</i>	'whitewood blossom'	<i>birraa</i> – 'whitewood tree'
<i>dharraabiin</i>	'manna on bark'	<i>dharraa</i> – 'flaking bark'
<i>gagilaarriin</i>	'carbeen blossom'	<i>gaabiin</i> – 'carbeen'
<i>galuurriin</i>	'coolabah blossom'	<i>gulabaa</i> – 'coolabah'
<i>yarraanbiin</i>	'gum blossom'	<i>yarraan</i> – 'river red gum'
<i>babarrabiin</i>	'gidgee blossom'	<i>gidjiirr</i> – 'gidgee'
<i>bambulngiyan</i>	'bumble tree blossom'	<i>bambul</i> – 'bumble tree'
<i>bunbarriyan</i>	'rosewood fruit'	<i>bunbarr</i> – 'rosewood'
<i>gun.giyan</i>	'manna on leaves'	<i>girran</i> – 'leaf'
<i>gurrulayngiyan</i>	'river wattle blossom'	<i>gurrulay</i> – 'river wattle'
<i>muurrngiyan</i>	'bean pods of mimosa'	<i>muwarr, murri</i> – 'mimosa bush'

The suffixes all end in ‘*iin*’ or ‘*ian*’ and given that long vowels and diphthongs are often confused, and that the diphthong is more likely to be the original form, *-ian* is more likely to be the original form of the suffix. There are a variety of consonants at the beginning of the suffix, (b, w, ø, ng, g) with ‘b’ the most common. The recommended forms of the suffix are *-ian* after word final ‘rr’ and *-biyan* elsewhere. The meaning is ‘blossom or fruit of’.

#### 4.2.3.15 *-awaa* – ‘habitual’

Again the description of this suffix was recorded by Sim (1999). It is attached to verbs or nominalised verbs and creates the name of something that ‘habitually does the action’. Like *-wan* above it is only found with idiosyncratic use, but could be used transparently to form an adjective or noun with the meaning ‘something which habitually does the action’. Examples from the GY corpus include:

<u>example</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>wunga-y-awaa</i>	‘dive/wade-habitual’	the name of the ‘Large Black Cormorant’, a bird whose behavior fits the name
<i>mungin.-gagal-awaa</i>	‘mosquito-call-l-habitual’	‘pallid cuckoo’ – a bird who is said to call up the mosquitoes when it arrives each spring
<i>dhina-garral-awaa</i>	‘foot-cut-l-habitual’	the ‘clever man’ who can poison others; <i>dhina-garral</i> is ‘poison’

The connection between the name and the named is of varying directness. There are many birds and other things which could be called ‘habitual divers’. The name of the ‘pallid cuckoo’ is more cryptic and may well be related to a story, as many bird names are. This form can be regarded as both a nominal suffix (cf *dhina-garral-awaa*) and as a verb nominaliser. (*wunga-y-awaa*). The suffix is clear in meaning, it occurs a number of times and could be used productively, for instance in:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>buma-l-awaa</i>	‘hit-l-habitual’	‘bully’
* <i>dha-l-awaa</i>	‘eat-l- habitual’	‘always eating’, ‘glutton’

#### 4.2.3.16 *-DHaa* (-(g)aa) - ?associated with’ / neutral suffix

The use of ‘neutral suffixes’, including ‘-y’ in English, which do not have a specific gloss has been discussed in 4.2. One further example is ‘-ette’ which is ‘feminine diminutive’ in French but has a range of uses in English: diminutive (laundry-ette – from ‘laundry’), feminine (usher-ette) and no particular meaning (flannel-ette). This section examines pairs

of GY words to determine a form or forms for such suffixes and then considers their possible use. The suffix *-DH<sub>a</sub>* is one possible ‘neutral suffix’ whose occurrence and variation in form is illustrated below. There is a homophonous allomorph of the locative suffix which sometimes occurs on words which end with *aay*. The locative of *yaraay* – ‘sun’ occurs as both *yaraay-a* and *yaraa-dha*.

<u>example</u>	<u>(probable) source</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>guna-dha</i>	<i>guna</i> - ‘faeces’	‘boggy ground’
<i>gayn-da</i> –	<i>gayn</i> - ‘smooth’, ‘fire rake’	‘carpenter’s plane’
<i>barra-da</i>	<i>barra</i> - ‘a split’	‘split open’ (Adjective)
<i>gumba-dhaa</i> –	<i>gumba</i> - ‘flint’, ‘super hard’	‘iron’ (Noun), anything iron, e.g. machinery.

The syllable *-dha* also occurs in three of the four sets of the male / female social section names: *marri* – *maadha*, *yibaay* – *yibadha*, *gabi* – *gabudha*.

The suffix/suffixes *-gaal/-gal/-aa* have been discussed above as ‘senior’. There are other occurrences of these forms. The predominant form is *-gaa*.

<u>example</u>	<u>(probable) source</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>walaay-gaa</i>	<i>walaay</i> - camp, nest	‘bird’s nest’
<i>buwarr-gaa</i>	<i>buwarr</i> - ‘sacred’	‘dead person’s possessions’ (Ted Fields says the two words are related)
<i>gidjirrigaa</i>	<i>gidjiirr</i> is ‘gidgee tree’ and <i>gidjiirrgidjiirr</i> is ‘yellow’	‘budgerigar’ (a bird) (Ted Fields says the budgerigar is so named “because of its yellow colour”)
<i>bibil-aa</i>	<i>bibil</i> - ‘bimble box tree’	‘belonging to the bibbil country’ (Langloh-Parker, 1905:144)

The suffixes *-DH<sub>a</sub>* and *-(g)aa* have a wide range of meaning in the examples given and this is consistent with their use as neutral suffixes. A suitable gloss is ‘something related to (the root word)’. Some possible uses are:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis/source</u>	<u>possible assigned meaning</u>
* <i>burrul-da</i>	‘big-da’	‘giant’, ‘enlargement’
* <i>madha-dha</i> –	adapting <i>madhamadha</i> – ‘rough’	‘scourer’, ‘sandpaper’,
* <i>bulil-da</i>	<i>bulilbulil</i> – ‘slippery’	‘slippery dip or slide’
* <i>man.ga-dha</i>	<i>man.ga</i> - ‘table, flat object’	used for name of other flat object e.g. ‘blackboard’, ‘whiteboard’, ‘screen’, ‘wall’
* <i>bungun.-gaa</i>	<i>bungun</i> - ‘arm’	‘sleeve’, ‘armband’

<i>*mil-da</i>	<i>mil</i> – ‘eye’	‘glasses, spectacles’
<i>*mil-daa</i>	<i>mil</i> – ‘eye’	‘glasses, spectacles’
<i>*mil-gaa</i>	<i>mil</i> – ‘eye’	‘glasses, spectacles’
<i>*mil-aa</i>	<i>mil</i> – ‘eye’	‘glasses, spectacles’

The above list shows again that there are often a number of a forms which can be used to translate one English word, and many English uses for the one GY form. It is largely a matter of choice which forms and meaning are linked.

#### 4.2.3.17 *-bilaarr* – ‘owner’

The suffix *-bilaarr* – ‘owner’ is and the following suffix (*-girr*) are not found in the GY sources. They are found in Wangaaybuwan and are considered here as suffixes that might be borrowed into GY. Wangaaybuwan uses of *-bilaarr* include (Donaldson 1980:116):

*mirri-bilaarr* – ‘dog owner’  
*gudhi-bilaarr* – ‘song owner’ (someone who has songs by heart)

No equivalent suffix exists in GY and the form is consistent with GY phonotactics, so it is recommended that the Wangaaybuwan suffix be used in GY with its Wangaaybuwan form and meaning.

#### 4.2.3.18 *-girr* – ‘nasty with’

Donaldson (1980:112) glosses *-girr* as ‘nasty with’ and gives the Wangaaybuwan examples:

<u>compound</u>	<u>analysis</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>mil mula-girr</i>	‘eye pus-nasty with’	‘very watery eye’
<i>muwang-girr (dhinggaan)</i>	‘fur-nasty with (meat)’	‘meat spoiled (for eating) with fur’

This suffix could be a used in GY but its form is very similar to the existing suffix *-giirr* – ‘like’ in GY and so adopting it is likely to cause confusion. There is not a great need for this suffix and so it is best ‘put on hold’ for the present. It may be adopted at a later stage of GY revival.

### 4.2.4 Other potential suffixes

The process of defining many of the above suffixes has often begun by noticing the similarity between two words, positing a potential suffix and then looking out for other examples of that potential suffix when working through the GY source material and

material in related languages. It is quite likely that further suffixes will be found and defined. The following table contains pairs of words which indicate some of the forms which might be further investigated.

Table 4-1: Possible further GY nominal suffixes

possible suffix	preliminary analysis	occurrence
-aala:	<i>guyaarr</i> - ‘long’	<i>guyaarr-aala</i> - ‘very long’
-aali	<i>gulay</i> - ‘net’	<i>gulay-aali</i> - ‘pelican’
-aay	<i>dhulirral</i> - ‘drop of water’	<i>dhulirral-aay</i> - ‘affected by water dripping’
-baarr	<i>dhuu</i> - ‘smoke , fire’	<i>dhuu-baarr</i> - ‘misty rain, like smoke’
-barraan	<i>wii</i> - ‘fire’	<i>wii-n-barraan</i> - ‘alongside of the fire’
-bi, -bin	<i>bagan</i> - ‘stripe’	<i>bagan-bi</i> , Poss. <i>baganbin</i> - ‘striped lizard’
-djil	<i>baan</i> - ‘mistletoe’	<i>baan-djil</i> - ‘mistletoe bird’
-djal	<i>milan</i> - ‘one’	<i>milan-djal</i> - ‘only one, just one’
	<i>bulaarr</i> - ‘two’	<i>bulaa-djal</i> - ‘only two, just two’
-duurr	<i>walan</i> - ‘hard’	<i>walan-duurr</i> - ‘hard hearted, someone who won’t yield, won’t soften’
-gaal	<i>waya</i> - ‘left (hand)’	<i>waya-gaal</i> - ‘left hander’
-yul	<i>gaba</i> - ‘good’	<i>gaba-yul</i> - ‘pleased’
-djul	<i>bad</i> - ‘gagil’	<i>gagil-djul</i> - ‘unhappy, despondent’
-may	<i>gali</i> - ‘water’	<i>gali-n-may</i> - ‘water bag’
-waa	<i>mandi</i> - ‘step’, ‘level’	<i>mandi-waa</i> - ‘climbing notch’ (in tree)

A number of potential suffix forms occur attached to *dharra* - ‘thigh’ - *dharra-widhal* /*dharra-widil* /*dharra-wurra* /*dharra-warru* - ‘trousers’. Some of the variation in form here may be due to variation in recording the words.

#### 4.2.4.1 -wan.gaan reanalysed

There is a previously described GY suffix -*wan.gaan* - ‘very’. At first this looks like other quantity suffixes (big, small, etc) but unlike them it is never followed by other suffixes. It is

also different from other suffixes in being attached to particles and case marked nominals (see examples below). It might therefore better be called a suffixed adverb. Since it produces non-inflecting stems it is not suitable for new word production. The examples below show some of the uses of *-wan.gaan*. Sentence 4-14 shows it attached to a nominal, (a) shows it attached to a particle (*maarr* - none) and (b) shows it attached to a noun which is followed by a circumstantial case marker. The use of *-wan.gaan* in (a) remains to be explained.

(4-14) *gunadha-wan.gaan nhama dhaymaarr*  
 boggy-Very                      the              ground  
 “The ground (was) very boggy.”

(a) *maarr-wan.gaan* – ‘none-very’ = “none at all”                      (tape 3217B)

(b) Someone hit a man:  
*dhaygal-i-wan.gaan* – ‘head-Circumstantial-wan.gaan’ = “on the head, first go”.

#### 4.2.5 Potential stem-forming suffixes

Nominal suffixes offer varying potential for word creation. Some suffixes are used almost exclusively in a syntactic role and they are rarely used for idiosyncratic word creation. Suffixes (such as number and quality ones) which form new roots with the same reference as the original root are used idiosyncratically, but not as frequently as suffixes which form a root with a different reference to the original root. In fact some of the latter have only been found with idiosyncratic use. Further study of the GY sources, study of related languages and comparative study of other Australian languages may well lead to the definition of more productive nominal suffixes in GY and so to further processes of word production.

The following tables list the suffixes discussed which are recommended for use in creation of new words. The recommendation is either that the suffix be freely used or occasionally used. An ‘◇’ after the suffix indicates it has not been listed in previous GY grammars, or its meaning has been clarified.

Table 4-2a: Nominal suffixes recommended for use in forming new stems  
 (new root has the same reference as the original root)



<b>suffix</b>	<b>meaning</b>	<b>recommendation for idiosyncratic use</b>	<b>related WB form</b>
<i>-DHuul</i>	little +	occasional use	<i>-DHul</i>
<i>-ili</i> ◊	little, affectionate	occasional use	Possibly <i>-gaa</i>
<i>-bidi</i>	big	occasional use	<i>-bidi/-girran</i>
<i>-gaali</i> ◊	group of two	occasional use	<i>-bulaa</i>
<i>-galgaa</i>	general plural	occasional use	<i>-galaan</i> (Augmentive plural)
<i>-gal</i> ◊	diminutive plural	occasional use	<i>-galgaaN-</i>
<i>-(g)aa</i> ◊	(Poss) senior	occasional use	
<i>-Luu?</i> ◊	all possible	occasional use	<i>-bu</i>

Table 4-2b: Nominal suffixes recommended for use in forming new stems  
(new root has the different reference from the original root)

<b>Suffix</b>	<b>meaning</b>	<b>recommendation for idiosyncratic use</b>	<b>related WB form</b>
<i>(b)araay, -</i> <i>(b)iyaay</i>	with (comitative)	recommended	<i>-Buwan</i>
<i>-bil</i>	with a lot	occasional use	<i>-bil</i>
<i>-bilaay</i>	with a lot	recommended	
<i>-wan</i> ◊	with prominent	recommended	<i>-burra,</i>
	with big		<i>-bidjal</i>
<i>-DHalibaa</i>	without	recommended	<i>-DHalabaaN-</i>
<i>-DHaa</i> ◊	without (abbreviated form)	occasional use	
<i>-nginda</i>	wanting	recommended	<i>-nginda</i>
<i>-giirr</i>	like	recommended	
<i>-gaalu</i>	pretend	recommended	<i>-gaalu</i>
<i>-(b)aa</i>	‘domain’ of	recommended	<i>-baaN-</i>
<i>-barra</i> ◊	belonging to the country of	recommended	<i>-giyaluN-</i>
<i>-gayaluu</i> ◊	inhabitant of	recommended	<i>-giyaluN-</i>
<i>-gal</i> ◊	group, mob	recommended	
<i>-uwi</i> ◊	back	recommended	verb suffix only
<i>-DHaan</i> ◊	skilled at	recommended	<i>-ngaan</i>
<i>-(b)iyaa</i> ◊	blossom of	recommended	
<i>-awaa</i> ◊	habitual	recommended	
<i>-DHaa</i> ◊	neutral suffix	recommended	
<i>-(g)aa</i> ◊	neutral suffix	recommended	

Table 4.3 lists suffixes recommended for borrowing from Wangaaybuwan. Only *-bilaarr* is recommended for idiosyncratic use. Some suffixes have different GY and Wangaaybuwan citation forms.

Table 4-3: Nominal suffixes recommended for borrowing from Wangaaybuwan

suffix	meaning	recommendation for idiosyncratic use	WB form
*- <i>buy</i>	group (>2)	not recommended	- <i>buy</i>
*- <i>galaydjaa</i>	reciprocal plural	not recommended	- <i>galaydjaaN</i> -
*- <i>girrba</i>	a party of	not recommended	- <i>girrbaN</i> -
*- <i>bilaarr</i>	owner of	recommended	- <i>bilaarr</i>

It is recommended that the following WB suffixes be put on a ‘watching brief’ and perhaps be borrowed by GY in future, perhaps in adapted form.

proper name	- <i>gaN</i> -
late, deceased	- <i>galaaN</i> -
nasty with	- <i>girr</i>

### **4.3 Nominal reduplication in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay**

Reduplication of nominals is a major lexical process in GY and reduplication of verbs occurs, but is much less common. This section considers Wangaaybuwan reduplication, examines the various forms of GY reduplication, the meanings of reduplicated roots and the relationship between that meaning and the unreduplicated root. It briefly considers forming new words by backformation from reduplicated forms where no unreduplicated form has been found in the corpus. It then proposes that some of the reduplication processes be used for forming new words. The process of GY verb reduplication, which has a ‘more or less’ effect, is examined as is the possibility of extending that process to nominals. Some examples of possible new words are included. An extensive list of reduplicated roots from the corpus is included as Appendix One.

Donaldson (1980:69) describes Wangaaybuwan reduplication thus: ‘the first syllable and the first CV (consonant and vowel) of the second syllable are copied onto the front of the stem.’ That is, if the vowel in the second syllable is long, only a short vowel is copied. The semantic effect varies. In the Wangaaybuwan closed word classes only indeterminates can be reduplicated and the effect is to make a plural (cf Donaldson 1980:272). For example from *ngaandigaa* - ‘someone’ is formed *ngaandingaandigaa* - ‘everyone’. (This may be better labeled ‘universal’ rather than ‘plural’, which would be ‘someones’.) For Wangaaybuwan open word classes the effect of reduplication is to ‘reduce the specificity of their reference and make it vaguer, in the same way as prefacing English words with ‘more or less’ does’ (Donaldson 1980:69). Words whose meaning cannot be ‘more or less’ (e.g. dead) cannot be reduplicated. Williams (1980:86) considers the reduplication of GY verbs but not of nominals. She defines both the process of GY verbal reduplication and its effect exactly as Donaldson does for Wangaaybuwan.

Donaldson (1980:72-74) lists many classes of nominals which can be reduplicated. These classes are listed here with just a few Wangaaybuwan examples. They include qualities (*yadama* - ‘good’), colours, numbers, animation (*muun* - ‘alive’), various characteristics (*dhiringgal* - ‘flash’, *guyan* - ‘shy’) and position words (*bin.guN-* - ‘tip’). Many Wangaaybuwan nominals cannot be reduplicated and Donaldson groups these in areas such as: the natural world, people, place names, artifacts and abstract notions. The words which

can be reduplicated are predominantly adjectives, while those that cannot be reduplicated are mostly nouns. However Donaldson (1980:74) does give a number of examples of reduplications formed from nouns, so the adjective/noun basis for ability to reduplicate is a tendency rather than an absolute in Wangaaybuwan. Wangaaybuwan examples of noun reduplication include:

<u>unreduplicated</u>	<u>reduplicated</u>
<i>ngimbi</i> – ‘bone’	<i>ngimbingimbi</i> – ‘on the bony side’
<i>gaabi</i> – ‘vomit’ (Noun)	<i>gaabigaabi</i> – ‘nauseous’

(There are verbs *gaabi-li*, Int, ‘vomit’ in Wangaaybuwan and *gaawi-li* – ‘vomit’ in GY, so GY could consider calquing the Wangaaybuwan and forming \**gaawi* – ‘vomit’ and \**gaawigaawi* – ‘nauseous’.)

Reduplication as a process to form ‘more or less’ versions of a word is found occasionally in GY verbs but not in nominals. The most common example is *ngarrangarra-li* – ‘keep an eye on’ (*ngarra-li* – ‘look’). Nominal reduplication is common in GY but both the pattern of reduplication and the meaning of the reduplicated nominal is different from the ‘more or less’ reduplication found in Wangaaybuwan and GY verbs. The common effect of nominal reduplication is to form adjectives from a noun and to form roots with idiosyncratic meaning. An example of adjective formation is *dhurrundhurrun* – ‘hairy, furry’ from *dhurrun* – ‘fur’ and an example of idiosyncratic meaning is *balabalaa* – ‘butterfly’ from *balaa* – ‘white’. These and some other GY reduplications are listed below.

<u>unreduplicated</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>reduplicated</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>ngarra-li</i>	‘see, look’	<i>ngarrangarra-li</i>	‘keep an eye on’
<i>banaga-y</i>	‘run’	<i>banabanaga-y</i>	‘more or less run’
<i>dhurrun</i>	‘fur’	<i>dhurrundhurrun</i>	‘hairy, furry’
<i>balaa</i>	‘white’	<i>balabalaa</i>	‘butterfly’

The absence of the ‘more or less’ use of nominal reduplication may be because it was not a part of historical GY but may also be a product of the way the languages have been recorded. This semantic effect may well have been not noticed by early recorders and, by the time tape recording arrived, it may well have dropped out of use. Also linguists are more likely to ask for words with simple meaning (‘white’, ‘two’, ‘middle’) rather than words with the less common meanings (‘whitish’, ‘round two’, ‘somewhere in the centre’) which are represented by reduplications in Wangaaybuwan.

The formation of adjectives by reduplication is illustrated by the Wangaaybuwan examples above and by an exact parallel in GY: *buyabuya* – ‘skinny, boney’ from *buya* – ‘bone’. There are many such derivations in GY, where the source word is a noun and the meaning of the reduplicated form is an adjective and its meaning only slightly idiosyncratic. The are examples in the table below.

<u>unreduplicated</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>reduplicated</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>buya</i>	‘bone’	<i>buyabuya</i>	‘skinny, boney’
<i>wulul</i>	‘a noise’	<i>wuluwuluu</i>	‘noisy’
<i>mandi</i>	‘a step’	<i>mandimandi</i>	‘sequentially’

### 4.3.1 Patterns of reduplication in GY

All reduplicated nominals recorded in GY are of four syllables, that is they are formed from a disyllabic root. Two possible exceptions are *gayn.gayn* – ‘smoothed’ and *miirrmirr* – ‘backwards’. *Gayn.gayn* contains diphthongs and could also be written *gayin.gayin*, thereby fitting the pattern. If *miirrmirr* is the only exception to a well attested rule it is likely that it has been misrecorded and also contains diphthongs and so should be transcribed as *miyarrmiyarr*. A number of GY words have been recorded with both diphthongs and long vowels, for instance *biyarr/biirr* – ‘one’.

In contrast to Wangaaybuwan GY has a number of patterns of nominal reduplication, including: repetition of the whole of the original word, lengthening of the second vowel in the right hand morpheme and changes at the morpheme boundary. The reduplication of verbs is considered later.

#### 4.3.1.1 Complete reduplication

In the majority of cases the reduplicated root is formed by full reduplication of a disyllabic root. Neither the form of the reduplicated root nor the stress pattern gives any evidence for the direction of the reduplication. Examples of complete reduplication follow with the unreduplicated form also listed when it has been found.

<u>unreduplicated</u>	<u>reduplicated</u>
<i>guwin</i> – ‘a ghost like smoke or fog’	<i>guwin.guwin</i> – ‘misty, ghost-like appearance’
<i>gidjiirr</i> – ‘gidgee tree’	<i>gidjiirrgidjiirr</i> – ‘yellow’
<i>mama-li</i> – ‘stick’ (transitive)	
<i>mamal</i> – ‘friend’, ‘sticker’	<i>mamalmamal</i> – ‘sticky’
not recorded	<i>buwabuwa</i> – ‘loose’

#### 4.3.1.2 Vowel lengthened in last syllable

This is relatively uncommon. The last two examples below show the reduplicated form being used as a plural:

<u>unreduplicated</u>	<u>reduplicated</u>
<i>guna</i> – ‘faeces’	<i>gunagunaa</i> – ‘brown’
<i>miyay</i> – ‘girl’	<i>miyaymiyaay</i> – ‘girls’, ‘Seven Sisters’ (the stars), little girl’
<i>birray</i> – ‘boy’	<i>birraybirraay</i> – ‘boys’, ‘Orion’s belt’(the stars)

#### 4.3.1.3 Change at the morpheme boundary

Again, this is relatively uncommon and may be the result of phonological adaptation, for example regressive assimilation in the first example below. There are a number of changes at the morpheme boundary when the unreduplicated form begins with ‘g’. These are illustrated in the examples below. There may also be examples of what Crowley et al (1995:250) describe as ‘echo reduplication’ which is a combination of reduplication and root modification. Echo reduplication is the only type of reduplication that occurs in English and examples include: ‘teeny-weeny’ and ‘baby-talk’ forms such as ‘leggy-weggy’.

<u>unreduplicated</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>reduplicated</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhuni</i>	‘tree gum’	<i>dhunidjuni</i>	‘jackywinter’ (a bird)
not found		<i>bin.gawin.gal</i>	‘needlebush tree’
not known		<i>gulungguluu</i>	‘rotten’
<i>girraa</i>	‘leaf’ (possibly)	<i>girraan.girraa</i>	‘leaves’
<i>ganay</i>	‘yamstick’(possibly)	<i>ganayanay</i>	‘supplejack’ (a tree)

#### 4.3.1.4 Nominals from reduplicated verb stems

The majority of GY reduplicated nominals are formed from nouns and some are formed from adjectives. In some examples the unreduplicated form is related to a verb. In these instances the unreduplicated form can be analysed as a verb or as a nominal derived from a verb. Examples where a reduplicated root is similar to an attested verb are given below.

<u>unreduplicated verb/nominal</u>	<u>reduplicated root</u>
<i>mama-li</i> ‘stick’ transitive	<i>mamalmamal</i> ‘sticky’
<i>mamal</i> ‘friend’, ‘sticker’	<i>nhimalnhimal</i> ‘spiteful’
<i>nhima-li</i> ‘pinch’	<i>bulilbulil</i> ‘slippery’
<i>buli-y</i> ‘slip’	<i>warrawarra</i> ‘standing’
<i>warra-y</i> ‘stand’ (intransitive)	<i>dhirrandhirran</i> ‘shaking’
<i>?dhirra-y</i> ‘shake’ (intransitive)	<i>yii-li</i> ‘bite’
<i>yii-li</i> ‘bite’	<i>yiiliyiili</i> ‘peppery, hot tasting’
<i>yiili</i> ‘savage’ (Adj)	<i>yiiliyiili</i> ‘peppery, hot tasting’

*Dhirra-y* – ‘shake’ (intransitive) is not attested as such in the corpus, but there is some reason to posit such a form. *Yii-li* – ‘bite’ (l class) and *yiili* – ‘savage’ (Adjective) have both been recorded and *yiiliyiili* – ‘peppery, hot tasting’ could come from either or both, but no other cases of reduplication of the future of an l class verb has been recorded.

The processes of reduplication found in the above examples are:

verb class	unreduplicated form	example verb	reduplicated form
l	(stem + l)	<i>mama-li</i> – ‘stick’	<i>mamalmamal</i>
l	(stem + li)	<i>yii-li</i> – ‘bite’	<i>yiiliyiili</i>
y	(stem + $\emptyset$ )	<i>warra-y</i> – ‘stand’	<i>warrawarra</i>
y	(stem + n)	? <i>dhirra-y</i> – ‘shake’	<i>dhirrandhirran</i>
y	(stem + l)	<i>buli-y</i> – ‘slip’	<i>bulilbulil</i>

There is a well attested process for forming nominals from l class verbs: ‘stem + l’ (see 4.4.2.1). The other process illustrated above for l class verbs, ‘stem + li’, is very rare. The pattern ‘stem + l’ reduplicated is the more common for forming reduplicated nominals from l class verbs and incorporates the common nominalisation process. Therefore it is to be preferred to the ‘stem + li’ reduplication illustrated by *yiiliyiili*.

For y class verbs there are three different patterns, but each supported by only one example. For word production purposes the choice is to adopt none of these patterns or to adopt one unless the different patterns have different effects. No difference in the meaning of the reduplicated form is obvious. This may be because only one instance of each pattern has been found. Since ?*dhirra-y* is a hypothesised verb rather than an attested form the process involving it is the least well supported. There are two remaining processes involving ‘stem + l’ and ‘stem +  $\emptyset$ ’. It is unusual for any derivational process involving y class stems to include ‘l’, so the ‘stem +  $\emptyset$ ’ process is the chosen. It is also different from the l class process. Derivational processes are typically different for different verb classes. This is again an example of a choice being made on little evidence. The processes recommended for forming a reduplicated nominal from verbs are:

l class	‘stem + l’ reduplicated
y class	‘stem + $\emptyset$ ’ reduplicated

The nominal so formed is typically an adjective whose meaning is close to that of the verb (‘stand’ – ‘standing’; ‘stick’ – ‘sticky’) but at times idiosyncratic (‘pinch’ – ‘spiteful’).

### 4.3.2 Semantic effects of reduplication

The effects of reduplication in GY can only be definitely known when the unduplicated root is known. When this root is known the common effects of reduplication are:

1. to form an adjective whose meaning is closely related to and at times predictable from the source noun.
2. to form a word with an idiosyncratic meaning.
3. (occasionally) to intensify the meaning of the source word.
4. to form the plural of the original word.
5. to form universals from indefinites.

1) The first effect is shown by:

<u>unduplicated root</u>		<u>reduplicated root</u>	
<i>dhurrun</i>	'fur'	<i>dhurrundhurrun</i>	'hairy', 'furry'
<i>gayn</i>	'rake', 'smooth'	<i>gayn.gayn</i>	'calmed', 'smoothed down' (also the name of a plant)

2) Words whose meaning is idiosyncratically related to the source word are illustrated above (*dhunidjuni* – 'jackywinter', *gidjiirrgidjiirr* – 'yellow' and others). Presumably many of the idiosyncratic reduplications would be more understandable with a fuller knowledge of the language. Further examples include:

<u>unduplicated root</u>		<u>reduplicated root</u>	
<i>mula</i>	'a boil' (a sore)	<i>mulamula</i>	'soft'
<i>yalu</i>	'again'	<i>yaluyalu</i>	'the same'
<i>giyal</i>	'afraid'	<i>giyalgiyal</i>	'itchy'
<i>barran</i>	'boomerang'	<i>barranbarraan</i>	'centipede'

3) There are a small number of examples where the reduplication has a type of intensifying effect. This effect is the opposite of the effect of reduplication in Wangaaybuwan and in GY verbs.

<u>unduplicated root</u>		<u>reduplicated root</u>	
<i>gurru</i>	'hole'	<i>gurrugurru</i>	'very deep'
<i>buunhu</i>	'grass'	<i>buunhubuunhu</i>	'long grass'
<i>madhan-baa</i>	'heavy'	<i>madhanmadhan</i>	'too heavy (to lift)'

4) Reduplicated forms which are plurals are given above. (*miyaymiyaay* - 'girls', *birraybirraay* - 'boys'). Below are examples of universals formed by reduplication of indefinites:

<u>unduplicated root</u>		<u>reduplicated root</u>	
<i>minyagaa</i>	'something'	<i>minyaminagaa</i>	'everything'
<i>ngaandiyaa</i>	'someone'	<i>ngaandingaandiyaa</i>	'everyone' (nominative case)



5) Below are some roots where the unreduplicated root is not attested:

<u>unreduplicated root</u>	<u>reduplicated root</u>
<i>nhalganhalga</i>	‘cow horn’
<i>miirrimiirr</i>	‘backwards’
<i>milgumilgu</i>	‘alert, wakeful, watchful’ but cf: <i>mil</i> – ‘eye’
<i>giidjuugiidjuu</i>	‘constant, ongoing, repetitious’ but cf: <i>gii</i> – ‘heart’

#### 4.3.2.1 GY bird names

Approximately 130 bird names are recorded in GY and around 50 involve reduplications. These are sometimes onomatopoeic, for instance *dhirridhirri* – ‘willy wagtail’. At times the name is both onomatopoeic and has a semantic derivation. For instance there are two names for the ‘pied butcher bird’, *guwaaydjiiidjii* and *garri-guwin.guwin* as ‘grey butcherbird’. These both sound like the call of the bird. *Guwaaydjiiidjii* literally means ‘says djiiidjii’ and *guwaa-y* is the past tense of *guwaa-li* – ‘say, talk’ and *guwin* refers to a ‘grey, ghost like object’.

#### 4.3.3 Back-formation

There are arguments for and against assigning a meaning to unreduplicated forms which have not been found in the corpus. One reason for using the unreduplicated root is the fact that it is likely to have been a word in traditional GY. Also it may in some instances be possible to be fairly sure of the meaning of the unreduplicated root. On the other hand the unreduplicated form may still be found, either in the corpus, or more likely, in one of the neighboring languages. If it is found it may not have the meaning assigned by back-formation. This is not to veto back-formation, but to suggest caution. Where the reduplicated form is a name, for instance *dhunidjuni* – ‘jackywinter’ or *balabalaa* – ‘butterfly’ above, it is likely to have an idiosyncratic relationship to the unreduplicated root. In those circumstances it will be unlikely that the meaning of the unreduplicated form will be discovered. However there is often a fairly close relationship between reduplications which are adjectives and the source noun. Therefore the following back-formations are more likely to capture the original meanings of the unreduplicated word.

<u>reduplicated root</u>		<u>possible new word</u>	
<i>man.gaman.ga</i>	‘flat’ (Adjective)	* <i>man.ga</i>	‘a flat object’
<i>mandimandi</i>	‘spotted’	* <i>mandi</i>	‘a spot’
<i>gagan.gagan</i>	‘all colours’	* <i>gagan</i>	‘a colour’

### 4.3.4 Forming new words by reduplication

Section 4.3.2 lists the common effects of GY reduplication. The first two relate to the formation of a nominal which can function as either an adjective or a noun. Reduplication with on this pattern is suitable for forming new words. Of the other effects of reduplication, intensification of meaning and formation of plurals are both rare and the forming universals from indefinites is totally regular, so none of these patterns are suitable for forming new words. At the end of this section I consider the possibility of GY using reduplication to form words with a ‘more or less’ meaning.

#### 4.3.4.1 Forming adjectives and names

GY reduplication is most commonly the complete reduplication of a disyllabic word which derives a nominal which might function as an adjective, noun or both. The meaning of the derived adjective may have a direct relation to the source word (‘furry’ from ‘fur’) or an indirect relation (‘yellow’ from ‘gidgee tree’– because of its yellow flowers). When the derived root functions as a noun there is generally an unpredictable relationship between the meaning of the reduplicated root and the meaning of the original root. Some possible new GY root formed by reduplication of nominals are listed below. The first meaning given is closely related to the unreduplicated word, and the second meaning is idiosyncratic.

<u>original root</u>	<u>reduplicated root</u>	<u>first meaning</u>	<u>idiosyncratic meaning</u>
<i>buyu</i> – ‘leg’	* <i>buyubuyu</i>	‘leggy’	‘millipede’
<i>mubal</i> – ‘stomach’	* <i>mubalmubal</i>	‘with a big gut’	‘pot belly’
<i>nhamun</i> – ‘rib’	* <i>nhamunhamun</i>	‘ribs sticking out’	‘starved’
	(nnh is not a permissible consonant cluster, so ‘n’ is deleted)		
<i>yiya</i> – ‘tooth’	* <i>iyayiya</i>	‘toothed, toothy’	‘gears’ as in an engine
<i>mubirr</i> – ‘pattern’	* <i>mubirrmubirr</i>	‘patterned’	‘design’ ‘treads (on a tyre)’
<i>gundhi</i> – ‘house’	* <i>gundhigundhi</i>	‘domestic’	‘Indian myna’ – a bird which nests in houses

When beginning with a verb the process is a little more complex. The discussion above (4.3.1) led to the reduplication pattern:

With l class verbs with a disyllabic stem, reduplicate ‘stem+l’

With y class verbs with a disyllabic stem, reduplicate ‘stem+ø’

Some possible new word based on these patterns are:

<u>original root</u>	<u>reduplicated root</u>	<u>basic meaning</u>	<u>idiosyncratic meaning</u>
<u>l class verbs</u>			
<i>dhubi-li</i> – ‘spit’	* <i>dhubildhubil</i>	‘spitty’	‘a person, thing who spits’ (see note)

<i>gaga-li</i> – ‘call out’	* <i>gagalgal</i>	‘noisy’	‘loudspeaker’
<i>gurra-li</i> – ‘swallow’, (with overtones of ‘eating it all’)			
	* <i>gurralgurral</i>	‘all consuming’	‘buzzard’, ‘scavenger’
<i>miinma-li</i> – ‘pull’	* <i>miinmalmiinmal</i>	‘attractive, pulling’	‘tractor’, ‘tugboat’, ‘tow truck’, ‘force of gravity’

#### y class verbs

<i>gaari-y</i> – ‘spill’	* <i>gaarigaari</i>	‘likely to spill’,	‘insecure’, ‘unstable’
<i>buwi-y</i> – ‘rest’	* <i>buwibuwi</i>	‘restful’	‘tranquilliser’
<i>wila-y</i> – ‘live, stay’	* <i>wilawila</i>	‘inhabitable’	

Note: \**dhubildhubil* could be used for particular things such as a hose nozzle, or the part of a photocopier that ‘spits out’ the copy. It could also be used for ‘camel’, an animal that has a reputation for spitting.

#### 4.3.4.2 Forming ‘more or less’ words

Reduplication which forms roots with the meaning ‘more or less’ has been found in GY verbs but is not common. Two examples are given below:

<u>unreduplicated root</u>	<u>reduplicated root</u>
<i>banaga-y</i> - ‘run’	<i>banabanaga-y</i> - ‘more or less run’
<i>warra-y</i> - ‘stand’	<i>warrawarra-y</i> - ‘sort of stand, slouch’

The previous table shows reduplication of a trisyllabic GY verb stem but no examples have been found of reduplication of GY nominal roots of more than two syllables. However this would be a useful process as there is currently no way in GY of saying things like ‘biggish, coldish, sort of bad’. The process given by Donaldson (1980:69) and above (4.3) to form the ‘more or less version’ of words could easily be adopted. The process is ‘the first syllable and the first CV (consonant and vowel) of the second syllable are copied onto the front of the stem.’ This is a straightforward process, with predictable meanings resulting. The examples below which involve adjectives are potential new words in GY because they are produced by a process which has not been found in GY. Those involving verbs, on the other hand, are merely further examples of a process already found in GY. They have predictable form and meaning and so are standard derivations rather than new words. They therefore do not need to be marked with a ‘\*’.

<u>unreduplicated root, gloss</u>		<u>reduplicated root</u>	
<u>adjectives</u>			
<i>banggabaa</i>	‘white’	* <i>banggabanggabaa</i>	‘whitish’
<i>yinggil</i>	‘tired, lazy’	* <i>yinggiyinggil</i>	‘sort of tired, lazy;
	lazyish’		
<i>burrul</i>	‘big’	* <i>burruburrul</i>	‘biggish’
<i>guwaymbarra</i>	‘red’	* <i>guwaguwaymbarra</i>	‘reddish’ (‘pink’?)

#### verbs

<i>buma-li</i>	‘hit’	<i>bumabuma-li</i>	‘more or less hit’, ‘hit gently’
<i>winanga-li</i>	‘listen’	<i>winawinanga-li</i>	‘half listen’
<i>baaya-li</i>	‘bite off’	<i>baayabaaya-li</i>	‘more or less bite’, ‘nibble’
<i>yilawa-y</i>	‘sit’	<i>yilayilawa-y</i>	‘more or less sit’, ‘loungue’

#### 4.3.4.3 Summary

The basic patterns of reduplication are summarised in the tables below. A number of reduplication patterns and their semantic effect are well attested in GY and one pattern can be adopted from Wangaaybuwan. Reduplication is common in Aboriginal languages. It is not found in English. This has the disadvantage that those learning GY will take time to get used to it and their instincts may well be to avoid it because they generally speak only English. On the other hand the fact that reduplication is very rarely found in English is an advantage, since its use maintains the distinctive nature of GY and continues to remind people that they need to be aware of and maintain the differences between GY and English.

Table 4.4 lists the patterns of reduplication recommended for forming new roots. It gives the pattern and then an example. Table 4-5 gives examples of reduplication to form ‘more or less’ words. This pattern is found in GY verbs, but not in GY nominals. The first syllable and the first CV (consonant and vowel) of the second syllable are copied onto the front of the stem.

Table 4-4: Patterns of reduplication recommended for forming new roots in GY

source word	process /result	result
disyllabic noun	total reduplication	a) adjective = ‘noun-like’
		b) noun: idiosyncratic use
<i>buyu</i> – ‘leg’	<i>*buyubuyu</i>	a) ‘leggy’
		b) ‘millipede’
l class verb:	(root + l) reduplicated	a) adjective = ‘verb-like’
		b) noun: idiosyncratic use
<i>dhubi-li</i> – ‘spit’	<i>*dhubildhubil</i>	a) ‘spitty’
		b) ‘a person, thing who spits’
y class verb:	root reduplicated	a) adjective: ‘verb-like’

		b) noun: idiosyncratic use
<i>buwi-y</i> – ‘rest’	<i>*buwibuwi</i>	a) ‘restful’
		b) ‘tranquiliser’

Table 4-5: Reduplication to form ‘more or less’ stems

unreduplicated form	reduplicated form	gloss
<i>buma-li</i> – ‘hit’	<i>*bumabuma-li</i>	‘sort of hit’, ‘hit gently’
<i>banggaba</i> – ‘white’	<i>*banggabanggaba</i>	‘whitish’, ‘off white’

#### 4.4 Forming new Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay nominals from verbs

Verb nominalisation in general is not as prominent a part of word formation as some other processes in Australian languages. Goddard (1983:Chapter four and seven) gives a large number of suffixes which form verbs from nominals but only two which form nominals from verbs. The situation is similar in Wangaaybuwan with Donaldson (1980:199) listing only two nominalising suffixes. Hale (1846:500) is atypical in listing six nominalised forms derived from verbs (see table 4-6).

At the same time GY nominalisation is even more problematic than some other areas of GY word formation. Nominalisation is a complicated process in many languages. As Comrie and Thompson (1985:397) point out: ‘Processes for forming nouns are likely to be non-productive and to involve a great deal of irregularity and unpredictability.’ One particular complication is that the product of one class of verb nominalisation is often not a simple nominal, but a word with some verb and some noun characteristics. So it is not just a matter of determining the process and the meaning but for some nominalisations it is also a matter of determining the syntax of words which have some noun qualities and some verb qualities.

Also the information in the GY sources relating to nominalisation is relative scanty. The few examples of nominalisations are mostly in wordlists and so give very little information about the behavior or word class of these words. They have been collected and listed as if they are simple nominals, without the sentence examples which would illustrate how these words actually function. Again comparison of GY with Wangaaybuwan and other Aboriginal languages is an important part of the process of deciding which nominalisation processes to recommend for future use.

A different perspective on nominalisation, with a large range of suffixing processes with clear meaning and form is presented by Horatio Hale (1846:500) who uses Threlkeld data to come up with a list of what he calls ‘derivatives’ of verbs of a New South Wales language. (Hale calls the language ‘Kaamilarai’ but it is almost certainly Awabakal.) He gives 16 verbs and six suffixes for each which are formed by very regular patterns. Two of the verbs are listed below.

Table 4-6: Nominalisation pattern from Hale (1846:500)

Verb	Agent	Actor	Instrument	Deed	Action	Place
bunkili <i>to smite</i>	bunkilikan <i>smiter</i>	bunkiye <i>boxer</i>	bunkilikane <i>cudgel</i>	bunkilito <i>blow</i>	bunkilita <i>smiting</i>	bunkilingeil <i>pugilistic ring</i>
wiyali <i>to speak</i>	wiyalikan <i>speaker</i>	wiyaliye <i>commander</i>	wiyalikane <i>book</i>	wiyalito <i>speech</i>	wiyalita <i>speaking</i>	wiyalingeil <i>pulpit</i>

Hale comments (1846:499) ‘It shows in a striking light the advantages which the language derives from this source, both for discriminating nice shades of meaning and for devising names of new objects.’ A set of derivational processes such as those that Hale describes would be a great resource for GY with its impoverished lexicon. On the other hand the actual information available for GY and the generalisations made above about nominalisation indicate that a much more conservative position better fits the evidence, with only a few processes to be adopted. Even these involve an element of guesswork, but that is inevitable if any progress is to be made in developing new GY grammar.

The rest of this section contains some typology of verb nominalisation, followed by discussion of the two main types of nominalisation, ‘action/state’ and ‘characteristic’ nominalisation. The evidence for GY processes for the various types of nominalisation is then considered and the section ends with recommendations for which nominalisation processes to adopt in GY and includes some examples of such derivations.

#### 4.4.1 Typology of verb nominalisation

Comrie and Thompson (1985:349) and Goddard (1983:50) classify nominals formed from verbs and adjectives into two classes –

A) action/state nominals. These are ‘the name of an activity or state designated by the verb or adjective’ (Comrie and Thompson 1985:349). Examples of action nominals are ‘running’ and ‘creation’. Examples of state nominals are ‘sitting’ and ‘quietness’.

B) other. I will use Goddard’s term ‘Characteristic nominalisations’ (1983:76) to cover this second group which includes semantic areas such as: agentive nouns, instrumental nouns, manner nouns, locative nouns, objective nouns, reason nouns and other categories.

Comrie and Thompson (1985:349) distinguish the two classes by pointing out that the first group (action/state nominals) often ‘retain certain properties of the verbs or adjectives they are related to, while those in B typically behave like other nouns in the language, bearing only morphological and (often unpredictable and idiosyncratic) semantic relations to the associated verb or adjective’.

In fact in English there are two lots of action/state nominals. There are those formed by adding ‘-ing’ to verbs (e.g. arriving, creating, cooking) which do retain certain verb qualities, and others such ‘arrival’ and ‘creation’ which do not. The retention of verb qualities is shown by the use of an adverb in the phrase ‘his rapidly creating the sculpture’, in contrast to the use of an adjective in: ‘his rapid creation of the sculpture’. However English nominals formed on the pattern (verb+ing) retain relatively few verb qualities in comparison with action/state nominals in many other languages

Comrie and Thompson (1985:394) also point out that in some languages there is no structural distinction between verb relativisation and nominalisation and this is certainly the case for many Australian languages. Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1983:75ff) uses the same suffix for relativisation and creation of action/state nominals. In Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, p.c.) there is a *-girr* suffix (nominaliser /relativiser) which fills a variety of roles, including ‘verb-*girr*’ being used in relative clauses and having ‘the (nominal) sense of “‘verb-ing’, ‘verb-ing one’ or ‘verb-er’”. That is, ‘verb+*girr*’ is used in relative clauses and in action, state and agent nominalisation. However words formed with *-girr* cannot have case endings attached, so are not simple nominals. On the other hand relativised nominals in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson 1980:286) and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard, 1983:75) can have case endings, but it is not clear that it can have the full range of case endings in

Yankunytjatjara. Other languages have no action/state nominalisation construction, but do have nominalised clauses (Comrie and Thompson, 1985:392).

Characteristic nominalisation on the other hand generally results in words which are unquestionably nominals and with none of the residual verb qualities that are often part of relativisations. There are often a greater number of processes than for action/state nominalisation and each of these processes is often limited in the verbs it can be used with and the resultant nominals can have a range of meanings. This range of processes is well illustrated by the number of ‘characteristic nominalisation’ suffixes in English. They include: –able (workable); –er (cooker); –ness (happiness); –ation; (nationalis-ation); and zero derivation (‘drive’ is both a verb and noun). Each of those suffixes can be used only on a limited number of verbs or adjectives. The meaning of the nominal formed is often unpredictable. (‘mower’ can refer to the agent or instrument, ‘drive’ can be an action or a section or road, and so on). This contrasts with the English action/state nominaliser ‘-ing’ which is almost totally productive and has a clear meaning.

#### **4.4.2 Relativisation and Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay action-state nominalisation**

I now consider what is known of relativisation in GY and its use in forming action/state nominals and then give reasons why this process is not recommended, at present, for forming nominals. I also examine the use of relativisation to form agent nominals. In each case the key issues are what evidence there is for the process and how much is known of the behavior of any nominals formed, in other words to what extent they behave as simple nominals. The source material for this section is mostly Williams (1980), Ridley (1875:11, et al), the tape transcriptions and Sim (1999). Future comparative study of nominalisation in Aboriginal languages, particularly related ones, may shed further light on this topic.

In GY relativisation of verbs is very common in the formation of relative clauses. Williams elicits many examples of such clauses on the tapes. The reason for examining relativised verbs to see if they can also form nominals is that relativisation forms a type of nominal in some other Australian languages. There are a number of GY uses of relativisation which may be action / state nominalisation, rather than relative clauses (see sentences 4-16 and 4-17 below). Williams (1980:113) discusses relativisation of verbs and gives the following paradigm.



Verb Class	Relative verb form
l	stem + <i>-ndaay</i> or <i>-ldaay</i>
y and ng	stem + <i>-ngindaay</i>
rr	stem + <i>-ndaay</i>
progressive aspect	stem + continuous + <i>-ndaay</i>

Most of Williams' discussion is about the various types of relative clauses and she does not consider the use of these forms as participles or nominals. She gives numerous sentences such as the following:

- (4-15) *bandaa-yu nhirrna ngaama buunhu dha-ldaay, balu-nhi*  
kangaroo-Erg there the grass eat-Relative, die-Past  
The kangaroo which ate the grass died.

Ridley (1875:9) does not give example sentences with relativised verbs but lists, under verbs, a 'subjunctive' which has the same form as the simple relative form in Williams and 'participles' which attach *-ndaay* to stems of four different aspects – present continuous and various pasts (near, distant and unspecified past).

To establish the use of relativised verbs as a nominals it is necessary to find examples which clearly show the relativised form having a range of nominal qualities, such as being the head of a Noun Phrase and having a range of suffixes, including case suffixes. Apart from *balu-ngindaay-giirr* in 4-16 no such examples have been found. Sentence 4-16 refers to dragging goannas out of their holes in winter. The suffix *-giirr* – 'like' is usually suffixed to nominals, but is here attached to the relativised verb, *balu-ngindaay* indicating that *balu-ngindaay* has some nominal qualities. On the other hand in sentence 4-17 a circumstantial suffix would be expected if *garungga-ngindaay* is a nominal. The expression 'fear of X' usually has a circumstantial suffix on 'X' and that does not happen here. The relativised form *garungga-ngindaay* cannot be used as a simple nominal.

- (4-16) *Nginda gaa-gi, balu-ngindaay-giirr ngaama*  
you(1) take-Future die-Relative-Like the  
You will pick them (the goanna) as if they were dead.  
"You will take them, like if they dead."

- (4-17) *ngaama dhayin waal wunga-y, garigari gi-gi-la-nhi, garungga-ngindaay*  
the man not swim-Future, frightened be-gi-Reg-Past drown-Relative  
"The man won't swim for fear of drowning."

Sentence 4-18 shows an English action nominal ‘fight’ being translated by a relative clause, ‘the men fighting’. It may well be that the a common way of translating an English action-state nominal is with a GY relative clause.

- Miimii, did I tell you about the fight?  
 (4-18) *miimii, yaama ngaya nginunda dhubaanma-y, buma-la-ngindaay dhayn*  
 grandmother, question I you+Loc tell-Past, hit-Reflexive-Relative men  
 Grandma, did I tell you about the men fighting?

There is no conclusive evidence of relativised verbs being used as action/state nominals in GY.

However in the GY wordlists there are a number of examples of relativised verbs being listed as agent nominals. These are in the table below. Gumbaynggirr relativised verbs have this role, but it is not one of the typical roles of relativised verbs listed in Comrie and Thompson (see 4.4.1).

<u>GY example</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>analysis</u>
<i>yaal guwaa-ldaay</i>	‘liar’	lie say-Relative
<i>buma-lda(a)y</i>	‘a hit man, a thug’	hit- Relative if <i>buma-ldaay</i>
<i>wirraa-waa-ndaay</i>	‘lame person or thing’	limp-Cont- Relative
<i>baluu-ngindaay</i>	‘corpse’	die+u- Relative

The fact that most wordlist compilers have listed these as nominals needs to be seen in context. It probably means that this was the best category for these words, but is not an assertion that these words are standard nominals. To properly categorise these words and to describe their grammar would require careful elicitation of a fluent speaker using them in a wide range of contexts. This is not possible and has not been done on the tapes, so the situation is that the rules for forming relativised verbs are relatively clear, but it is unclear to what extent they can act as nominals.

In short there are no clear GY examples of relativised verbs as action/state nominals and while there are wordlist example of relativised verbs as agents, there are no sentence examples which clarify their behavior, the extent to which they follow normal nominal rules. Therefore it is not appropriate to use relativised verbs as nominals in GY since the rules for their use are not known. For the present there is no simple way of creating GY action/state nominals and so English action/state nominals will generally be translated by relative clauses,

This is an area where, if GY continues to be used, new GY grammar may develop. There is very little information about this area in the GY sources. It is clear that many Australian languages have a way of forming action/state words that is related to verb nominalisation and it may well be that at some stage GY will adopt such a pattern. However that needs a thorough comparative study which would lead to a proposed model for GY to follow and it also presumes a body which will make such major decisions for GY. Both of these are some distance in the future.

#### 4.4.3 Characteristic, non-agent nominalisation

In this section I examine GY characteristic non-agent nominalisation. In 4.4.4 I consider GY characteristic agent nominalisation. There are often a number of suffixes or processes available to form such nominals and some suffixes can have a range of uses, typically ranging across semantic domains such as agent, instrument, object, result and other areas associated with the action of the verb. In the GY corpus there is also a degree of variety in the form of some suffixes.

There are a number of processes for forming non-agent nominals. Some have been previously described and others are new. I also re-evaluate some examples previously described as verb to noun derivations and finally makes recommendations about processes for non-agent nominalisation. When there are formally similar verbs and nouns the question of the direction of derivation arises. There is a degree of uncertainty about the direction of the derivation in some of the discussion below. That is, it is not clear if the verb or noun is the original form.

##### 4.4.3.1 Verb stem + verb class marker - y and ng class

Williams (1980:106) lists a number of nominals that may be formed by the process (verb stem + class marker). Most of these involve y class verbs, but one involves an ng class verb.

<u>verb</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>nominal</u>	<u>gloss</u>	(giil is also used as the noun)
<i>giili-y</i>	‘urinate’	<i>giiliy</i>	‘urine’	
<i>dhanduwi-y</i>	‘sleep’	<i>dhanduwi</i>	‘sleep’	
<i>dhama-y</i>	‘rain’	<i>dhamay</i>	‘rain’	
<i>yulu-gi</i> (ng class)	‘dance’	<i>yulugi</i>	‘dance’	

This list indicates that ‘verb + class marker’ (for y class) and ‘verb + future’ (for ng class) are patterns for deriving nominals from verbs. However examination of the tapes resulted in no clear evidence for any of the four ‘nouns’. That is *giiliy* and the other ‘nouns’ nowhere occurred with a syntactic or local case suffix, or other suffix (such as *-bidi* – ‘big’) which is used with nouns but not with verbs. Nor did these four ever occur as the head of a noun phrase. In fact most occurrences of these homophones (which could be either noun or verb) occur in single word elicitation, where there is no clear way of determining the word class. (The interviewer says ‘sleep’, the informant replies ‘*dhanduwi*’, which is the citation form for both verb and the noun, if the latter exists). The existence of another noun *yiiyuu* – ‘rain’ and the situation in Wangaaybuwan where the noun ‘rain’ and the verb ‘rain’ are not homophones, is further evidence against positing a GY noun *dhamay* – ‘rain’.

Therefore at this stage there is no substantial evidence for the nominalisation process (verb stem + class marker) for y class verbs, or for the process (verb stem + future) for ng class verbs. In fact no non-agent nominalisation pattern has been found for y class verbs. It may be that such a process will be found in closely related languages. If so GY people could consider borrowing that process.

#### 4.4.3.2 Verb stem + verb class marker - l class

The situation is quite different for l class verbs, where there is considerable evidence for the nominalisation process (verb stem + class marker). A list of related verbs and nominals is given below. It is clear that there are nominals as well as verbs. Firstly the nominals have been found with case suffixes and other suffixes attached. Secondly the form of the nominal does not correspond to any verb inflection. This contrasts with the suggested y and ng class examples above, where the future tense of the verb and the nominal are identical in form.

verb	gloss	nominal	gloss
<i>dhubi-li</i>	‘spit’	<i>dhubil</i>	‘spit’
<i>bulirra-li</i>	‘breathe’	<i>bulirral</i>	‘breath’
<i>giinba-li</i>	‘remove the scales’	<i>giinbal</i>	‘scale’ (of fish or reptile)
<i>walindja-li</i>	‘be lonely’	<i>walindjal</i>	‘lonely’
<i>wiyay-li</i>	‘remove quills’	<i>wiyayl</i>	‘quill’ (of echidna)
<i>biimba-li</i>	‘sweep’	<i>biimbal</i>	‘a broom, brush’
<i>buma-li</i>	‘hit’	<i>bumal</i>	‘hammer, anything to hit with’

<i>dhulirra-li</i>	‘drip’	<i>dhulirral</i>	‘drop(s) of water’
<i>garrawa-li</i>	‘keep’	<i>garrawal</i>	‘a place where things are kept’ Colloq ‘a shop’
<i>nhinga-li</i>	‘sew’	<i>nhingal</i>	‘bone awl’
<i>wurungga-li</i>	‘peep’	<i>wurunggal</i>	‘peep-hole’ (Ted Fields)
<i>dhina</i> - ‘foot’	<i>garra-li</i> – ‘cut’	<i>dhinagarral</i>	‘poison’
<i>mungin</i> - ‘mosquito’	<i>gaga-li</i> – ‘call’	<i>mungin.gagal-awaa</i>	– ‘pallid cuckoo’ (a bird) (see 4.2.3.15 for ‘-awaa’)

The last two examples include the nominalised forms *garral* and *gagal*. These have only been recorded in compounds. The range of semantic roles of the nominalised form is obvious. The following is not an exhaustive list of those roles:

semantic role	nominal		verb	
instrument	<i>bumal</i>	‘hammer’	<i>buma-li</i>	‘hit’
product	<i>dhubil</i>	‘spit, saliva’	<i>dhubi-li</i>	‘spit’
patient	<i>wiyayl</i>	‘quill’ (of echidna)	<i>wiyay-li</i>	‘remove quills’
location	<i>garrawal</i>	‘a store’	<i>garrawa-li</i>	‘keep’

The nominalisation process ‘verb stem + class marker’ is common for I class verbs and results in a nominal which has a wide range of possible semantic roles.

#### 4.4.3.3 Nominalisation of ng class verbs

Two examples of ng class verbs and formally similar nouns are listed below.

verb	nominal
<i>balu-gi</i> – ‘die’	<i>balun</i> and <i>balu</i> – ‘dead’
<i>guna-gi</i> – ‘defecate’	<i>guna</i> – ‘faeces’

Word final ‘ng’ is not permissible in GY, so the ‘verb stem + class marker’ process is not possible. The above examples show two patterns – stem +  $\emptyset$  and stem + ‘n’. These are not well attested patterns. However there are only a small number of ng class verbs so it may not be significant that there are only a few examples. It could also be that the above are examples of verbalisation of the nominals *balu* and *guna*. The patterns could be considered for forming nominals from other ng class verbs but the lack of evidence suggests a cautious approach.

#### 4.4.3.4 Nominalisation of rr class verbs

No GY examples of nominalisation of rr class verbs have been found. One reason may be because there are so few rr class verbs (at most six). Another may be that a number of those

verbs are compounds incorporating a nominal (see below), so there is no need for a nominalisation process.

verb	gloss	nominal	gloss
<i>gunhugunhudhu-rr</i>	‘cough’	<i>gunhugunhu</i>	‘a cough’
<i>giguwidhu-rr</i>	‘sneeze’	<i>giguwi</i>	– ‘a sneeze’ is poorly attested

The process (stem + class marker) could be adopted for other rr class verbs on the basis that a similar process exists in l class and because the process would be useful, for instance in forming the potential new word \**wuurr* – ‘something given, a gift’ from *wuu-rr* – ‘give’.

#### 4.4.3.5 Verb stem only

There are a small number of examples of nominals which are identical in form to the stem of an l class verb. The meaning of the verb and nominal are not transparently related in the case of *barra-li* and *barra*.

verb	gloss	nominal	gloss
<i>garra-li</i>	‘cut’	<i>garra</i>	‘crack, split’
<i>buma-li</i>	‘hit’, ‘kill’	<i>buma garriya</i>	a name for the place where the ‘death’ of the <i>garriya</i> occurred.
<i>barra-li</i>	‘sharpen’	<i>barra</i>	‘thread’, ‘filament’

Other information helps to clarify and expand on the use of these nominals. *Garra* also occurs in compounds such as *nhan.garra* – ‘ringneck’ (a parrot with a mark around the back of its neck) and in other names. There is also evidence for this pattern from Wangaaybuwan, where *gaabi-li* is the verb ‘vomit’ and *gaabi* is the nominal ‘vomit’.

In all of the examples the nominal names the ‘product’ or ‘result’ of the action. While there are not a large number of examples, this is a clear pattern and one which is also found in a closely related language. This is sufficient to define a process for l class verbs:

Zero derivation of l class stems produces a ‘result’ nominal.

Two instances of a similar process have been found with a y class verb, *warra-y* – ‘stand’. There is a place name ‘Wee Warra’ which in GY is *wii warra* = ‘fire standing up’, and so *warra* = ‘standing up’. There is a related adjective, *warrawarra* – ‘standing up’. It is possible to propose a process ‘zero derivation of a y class verb produces a nominal which describes the result of the verb action.’ This is similar in effect to the zero derivation process proposed for l class. However the proposed derivational process is very poorly

exemplified in the corpus and no evidence has been found of a similar process in related languages. Further investigation of these languages may however lead to new evidence. Also there is no great need for the proposed process since the meaning of the ‘nominal’ formed can generally be conveyed by a continuous form of the verb. Because of the poor evidence for the pattern and the fact that it is not needed this pattern is not recommend for use at present.

#### 4.4.3.6 Potential processes

Here I merely list a number examples of verbs and (possibly) related nominals. These may indicate other nominalisation/verbalisation processes for further investigation.

verb	gloss	nominal	gloss
<i>yuwarra-li</i>	‘doze off’	<i>yuwarr</i>	‘sleep’
<i>wana-gi</i>	‘throw, leave’	<i>wanaal</i>	‘food taboo’
		<i>wana</i>	‘let’ (a particle)
<i>buma-l-uwi-y</i>	‘hit back’	<i>bumaluwiy</i>	‘hammer’

#### 4.4.3.7 Summary

The overall result of the above is that there is a well attested pattern for forming non-agent nominals for l class verbs, in fact two patterns: ‘stem + l’ and the less common ‘stem + ‘Ø’’. For all other classes there is no pattern or just one or two examples. It may be that this is related to the fact that l class verbs are predominantly transitive and so there is more likelihood of an object or instrument being associated with the verb.

Table 4-7: Processes for forming non-agent nominals

verb class	process	meaning of the nominal
l, rr	verb stem + CM	broad range of meaning
l, ng	verb stem only	‘result’ of the verb action

### 4.4.4 Characteristic, agent nominalisation

This section looks at a number of agent nominalisation processes and recommends the use of three of them.

#### 4.4.4.1 –DHaay - agent nominalisation.

Williams (1980:106) gives a process for agent nominalisation, ‘verb stem + -dhaay’. She gives only one example. The verb is *manuma-li* - ‘steal’ and the nominal is *manuma-dhaay* - ‘thief’. However *manuma-dhaay* is well attested, being found in the tapes of both Fred

Reece and Arthur Dodd and in Sim (1999). It is found in a number of equative sentences such as 4-19. It is never found with a suffix, or with any other evidence that it is a standard nominal.

(4-19) *manuma-dhaay nhama birralii*  
 steal-Agent that child  
 “He’s a thief, that kid.”

Sim (1999) also records *guluma-ldhaay* – (Possibly) ‘a foster parent’ and *guluma-li* – ‘care for’. However the suffix *-ldhaay* is not same as in *manuma-dhaay* and could possible be a misrecording of the relative ending, *-ldaay*.

Langloh Parker (1905:145) records *doore-oothai* – ‘a lover’ (*dhurriwuudhaay* in current orthography) and Ted Fields gave *dhurriwuudhaa* with the same meaning. The verb *dhu-rri* – ‘pierce’ is currently used as both as noun and verb for ‘intercourse’. *Wuu-gi* - ‘go in’ is possibly the second part of the nominal and the final part is *-dhaay* in Langloh Parker and *-dhaa* in Fields. These are possibly variants of the same suffix. The Langloh Parker word is clearly another example of *-dhaay* – ‘agent nominaliser’ and the Fields word lends some support to the suffix.

Donaldson (1980:199) records a suffix *-DHaayN-* in Wangaaybuwan, which derives ‘particles, i.e. de-verbal nominals. Thus *mularri-djaayN-* is ‘shivering, shiverer’ from *mularri-y* – ‘shiver’; .. and *ngalamba-daayN* – is ‘foul-mouthed, swearer, from *ngalamba-l(i)* ‘swear at’;’ The WB suffix *-DHaayN-* is similar in form to GY *-DHaay* but Donaldson lists a wider range of uses for it than the simple agent use found in GY. It may well be that in GY also the suffix formed a root which referred to action, but this has not been recorded in the GY corpus. This would be consistent with the relative paucity of information in GY. Donaldson’s designation of these forms as ‘particles, i.e. de-verbal nominals’ does not specify the degree to which these have standard nominal qualities, though one example (1980:173) does have an ergative suffix attached.

The GY evidence for this suffix is one very widely attested word and two that are less well attested. Its form and one semantic role are clear and it has a close cognate in Wangaaybuwan. At the same time the word class of the stem formed is not clear. In not being clearly a nominal it is similar to action/state ‘nominals’ discussed above (4.4.2).



The lack of information about the syntactic behaviour of this form, and the lack of information about its semantic roles as well as its relatively rare occurrence are counterindications to the use of *-dhaay* to form new words in GY. There is also an alternative process for forming agent nominals which is discussed next. However with further investigation the properties of cognate forms in related languages may become clearer. It could be appropriate at that time to use the suffix *-dhaay*, with clarified role, in GY.

#### 4.4.4.2 *-(y)aan* - agent nominalisation

From the evidence below I suggest an agent nominalisation pattern for all verb classes involving the suffix *-(y)aan*. Much of the evidence for this suffix comes from Sim (1999). He lists a number of nominals formally related to verbs. The nominals end in *-(y)(a)an*.

verb	gloss	nominal	gloss
<i>buma-li</i>	‘hit’, ‘kill’	<i>buma-li-yan</i> something’	‘hitter, someone who is hitting
<i>gudhuwa-li</i>	‘cook’	<i>gudhuwa-n</i>	‘cook’
<i>yii-li</i>	‘bite’	<i>yii-li-yaan</i>	‘biter’
<i>dhuba-y</i>	‘point (Int)’	<i>dhubi-yan</i> or <i>dhuba-yan</i>	‘tattletale’, ‘dobber’

Questions to Uncle Ted Fields about *-aan* on a verb forming a new word resulted in some further specific cases and the opinion that ‘lots of words do that.’ His examples, listed below, include a previously unrecorded verb, *dhiinbi-y* – ‘dive’ and a rr class verb:

verb	gloss	nominal	gloss
<i>banaga-y</i>	‘run’	<i>banaga-yaan</i>	‘runner’
<i>gubi-y</i>	‘swim’	<i>gubi-yaan</i>	‘swimmer’
<i>dhiinbi-y</i>	‘dive’	<i>dhiinbi-yaan</i>	‘a diver’; cf <i>dhiinbin</i> – ‘diver, grebe’ (a bird)
<i>dhu-rri</i>	‘pierce’, (and ‘have sex’)	<i>dhu-rri-yaan</i> , or <i>dhu-rri-ya-yaan</i>	– ‘a man who ‘plays around’

There are a number of similar derivations where the nominal is glossed as an adjective.

verb	gloss	nominal	gloss
<i>yii-li</i> (verb)	‘bite’	<i>yiiliyaan</i>	‘savage’ (occurs twice)
<i>yiili/yiilay</i>	‘savage’, ‘angry’	<i>yiiliyaan</i>	‘savage’
<i>dhabi-y</i>	‘stop’	<i>dhabiyaan</i>	‘quiet’

*Yiiliyaanbaa* – ‘cranky’, ‘savage’, is very common and an adjective. Langloh Parker (1905:145) has *goobean*– ‘a swimmer’ - *gubi-y* ‘swim’ *gubi-ya(a)n* ‘swimmer’.

The Arthur Dodd tapes have:

*binadhiwuubiyān* – ‘it goes into your ear’ (describing an insect). This may be derived from *bina* – ‘ear’; *-dhi* –circumstantial suffix, and *wuu-gi* – ‘go in’, but assumes a verb *wuubi-y*, related to the verb *wuu-gi*.

Almost all the nominals formed are agents (*yiiliyaan* is uncertain and *dhabiyāan* an adjective), however there are a number of variations in the form of the suffix, the most common one being in the length of the final vowel. There is no compelling evidence one way or the other, so the long vowel is chosen on the basis that both long and short vowels occur about the same number of times and it is easy for those recording the words to miss vowel length. The form of the agent nominal found is ‘verb stem + future + *yaan*.’ (For y class this gives two consecutive ‘y’s so one is deleted.)

No clear ng class example has been found. The composite *binadhiwuubiyān* (above) may contain an element based on *wuu-gi* – ‘go in’, but nowhere is a ‘b’ to be found as part of ng class derivation. Often ng class derivation involves the future suffix, and so that is the recommended procedure here in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary. The pattern described above is also recommended for ng class nominalisation.

There are many examples of the pattern, but no sentence examples have been found, so there is no explicit evidence that the nominals formed do have standard nominal syntax. On the other hand these nominals are quite unlike the relative verb forms and so there is no real reason to suspect that they are not straightforward nominals.

This pattern results in agent nominals and is recommended for use in GY on the basis of the number of occurrences. It therefore makes the *-dhaay* process discussed above unnecessary.

There are a number of examples where the relative ending is recorded as forming agent nominals. These have been discussed in the section 4.4.2 on relative endings and will not be further discussed here.

#### 4.4.4.3 *-barra* – ‘prone to’ (negative connotation)

I now consider three other possible agentive suffixes with more restricted meaning than the general ‘doer of X’ conveyed by the suffixes already looked at. The first is *-barra* – ‘prone to’ which is found once in GY and which may have a Wangaaybuwan cognate.

The GY verb suffix occurs in a Fred Reede sentence, which is elicited by Janet Mathews.

JM “my father eats this fish”  
 (4-20) *giirr ngay buwadjja-yu guduu dha-l-barra*  
 indeed my father-Erg codfish eat-l-barra.

The suffix in sentence is identical in form to nominal suffix labeled ‘belonging to the country of’ above (4.2.3.9). That suffix is attached to the name of something which is ‘typical’ of the country. This meaning is related to the meaning ‘prone to’ suggested for the verb suffix.

Donaldson (1980:200) records *-warra* – ‘prone to’ attached to four Wangaaybuwan verb stems (‘bite’, ‘bark at’, ‘lonely’, ‘fear’). She also recorded it on five nominal roots (‘shy’, ‘sleep’, ‘diarrhea’, ‘fart’, ‘anger’) and also recorded *yumba-warra* - ‘cry baby’. *yunga-y* is WB ‘cry’ but there is no separate word *yumba-*. The words to which *-warra* is attached seem to justify the addition of ‘negative connotation’ to the gloss. There are a number of examples of ‘b’ - ‘w’ variation in words or suffixes, so there is some basis for this being a cognate of GY *-barra*.

On the basis of one occurrence and a Wangaaybuwan cognate GY could adopt *-barra* with the same gloss as WB, ‘prone to (with negative connotation)’.

For the l class verb above *-barra* is attached to stem+l, where ‘l’ is the class marker. It is common for aspectual and other suffixes to be attached to ‘stem + class marker’ so, in the absence of other information, this pattern will also be used for this suffix for y and rr class. However for ng class this produces ‘ngl’, a consonant cluster which is not permissible. The

alternative adopted is to use stem + future + *-barra*, which follows the pattern of ng class verbs with a number of suffixes.

The suffix *-barra* - ‘prone to’ (negative connotation) is attached to verb stem + class marker, except for ng class, where it attaches to stem + future.

#### 4.4.4.4 *-awaa* – ‘habitual/frequent’

The suffix *-awaa* is glossed ‘habitual’. It was recorded by Sim (1999) in:

*wungayawaa* – ‘Black Cormorant’ (a bird which hunts under water), *wunga-y* is ‘dive, swim’ and Sim defines the suffix *-awaa* as ‘habitual’, a definition he would have received from his informants. The suffix *-awaa* may also occur in *dhiidjiibawaa* - ‘soldier bird’. Arthur Dodd says about this bird ‘*dhii, dhii*, he goes like that.’

While *-awaa* occurs only a few times its meaning is well founded since it has been defined by a native speaker of the language. It can be used to form a nominal which emphasises that the verb action is being done frequently, or is a characteristic of the thing being named. There is little information about the pattern of attaching this suffix to verbs, with the one clear example attaching it to stem + class marker. As with *-barra* above this pattern of attaching the suffix to stem + class marker is proposed for l, y and rr classes. For ng class the suffix will be attaches to stem + future +y as in *gaa-gi* – ‘bring’, *gaa-gi-y-awaa* – ‘bring-habitual’.

In GY *yu-gi* is ‘cry’ and *yungiirr* (*yu-ng-iirr* = stem + class marker + *iirr*) is ‘cry-baby’, a quite different form from the *yumba-warra* – ‘cry-bay’ in Wangaaybuwan, given above. There is not enough evidence here to define a suffix *-iirr*, but it is worth listing in case other examples are noticed in future.

It may be that other suffixes with similar roles will be found as work on GY and neighbouring languages continues. The existence of the verb suffix *-awaa*, above, is known mainly because an informant pointed out its form and meaning. There could well be other similar but infrequently used suffixes in the corpus.

#### 4.4.4.5 Summary of agent nominalisation patterns

This part of GY is not particularly rich in word-building resources or examples. However it is obviously better to build any future usage on what information there is. At times there can be some overlap in the choice of suffix, particularly between the agent suffixes *-yaan* and *-awaa*. The distinctions made by Hale (1846:500) between agent and actor can point to a way to use these. The agent is more likely to refer to someone who has done a particular action and the actor is one who has some long-term involvement with the action, as in the following pairs from Hale:

<u>agent</u>	<u>actor</u>
‘smiter’	‘boxer’
‘walker’	‘wanderer’
‘maker’	‘artisan’
‘carrier’	‘porter’
‘recliner’	‘sluggard’

The suffixes *-yaan*, *-awaa* and *-barra* have been proposed above for forming agent nominals in GY. While *-barra* has a distinct meaning, there is no clear distinction between *-awaa* and *-(y)aan*. A few examples such as *gubi-yaan* - ‘swimmer’, *banaga-yaan* - ‘runner’ and *buma-li-yan* - ‘hitter, someone who is hitting something’ hint at *-(y)aan* having more of an agent role (to use Hale’s terminology) than *-awaa*. A recommendation to use *-(y)aan* as ‘agent’ nominaliser and *-awaa* as ‘actor’ nominaliser is based on very limited evidence, but does give extra semantic material to GY. The recommended use of the three suffixes is given in table 4-8.

Table 4-8: Agent nominalisation suffixes

<b>suffix</b>	<b>role/gloss</b>
<i>-yaan</i>	agent
<i>-awaa</i>	actor
<i>-barra</i>	‘prone to’, with a pejorative connotation

One example the distinction of the agent suffixes might be with *guwaa-li* – ‘talk’.

- \**guwaaliyaan* ‘the speaker’ (who is the speaker tonight?)
- \**guwaalawaa* ‘a lecturer or preacher’
- \**guwaalbarra* ‘a person who talks a lot’. (pejorative connotation)

## 4.4.5 Conclusion

### 4.4.5.1 Appropriate use of nominalisation

One of the principles adopted in the thesis is that the word production methods adopted should be as consistent as possible with traditional GY grammar. One issue here is the rate of use of the various processes and another is taking care that use of the processes do not encourage changes in the way GY expresses concepts.

It is common for some processes to have low productivity, for instance the suffix *-warra* discussed in 4.4.4.3 has been recorded attached to only nine Wangaaybuwan roots. In creating new words it is appropriate to keep in mind the productivity of each process, and – *warra* for instance should be used infrequently.

The second issue, changing the way things are said in GY, is likely to arise as people try to translate concepts with the structures they are used to in English. Sentence 4-21 shows a situation where typically different patterns are used in the different languages. GY uses a verb ‘drink’ where English uses a nominal.

(4-21) *ngawu-gi-nginda*     *ngaya*  
      drink-Future-Wanting I  
      I want a drink.

If a nominalisation process is available it would be easy for the English pattern, using a nominal, to become much more common, replacing the typical GY pattern. While a certain amount of ‘Englishification’ is unavoidable, the more that is known about traditional GY and other Australian languages the less of it there need be in new GY.

### 4.4.5.2 Summary of Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay verbs nominalisation

The following table shows the pattern for nominalisation of GY verbs. It shows the elements which are specific to each verb class and the common suffixes. Some further information on the types of nominals which result follows the table.

Table 4-9: Nominalisation of GY verbs

Nominalisation type	verb class specific suffix				common suffix	nominal produced
	l	y	rr	ng		

<b>non-agent</b>						
verb stem +	l	-	rr	-	+ ∅ (zero)	general nominal
verb stem +	∅	∅	-	∅	+ ∅ (zero)	result of action
<b>agent</b>						
verb stem +	l	∅	rr	gi	+ -(y)aan	agent
verb stem +	l	y	rr	gi	+ -awaa	actor (habitual/frequent)
verb stem +	l	y	rr	gi	+ -barra	'prone to' (pejorative)

General nominals cover the semantic fields of instrument, product, patient and sundry others.

#### 4.4.5.3 Some possible new nominals

Table 4-10 lists some potential new nominal formed using the processes discussed above.

Table 4-10: Potential GY nominalisations

<b>verb</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>nominal</b>	<b>gloss</b>
<i>galiya-y</i>	'climb'	* <i>galiyayaan</i>	'climber'; perhaps also applied to plants that climb
<i>galiya-y</i>	'climb'	* <i>galiyayawaa</i>	'climber'
<i>bayama-li</i>	'catch'	* <i>bayamal</i>	'catcher' (instrument)
<i>wiibi-li</i>	'be sick'	* <i>wiibil</i>	'disease'
<i>warruma-li</i>	'find'	* <i>warrumal</i>	'discovery'
		* <i>warrumaliyaan</i>	'discoverer'
		* <i>warrumalawaa</i>	'explorer'
<i>yurraa-li</i>	'cover up'	* <i>yurraal</i>	'a cover'
<i>wa-li</i>	'put in'	* <i>wal</i>	'a container;
		* <i>waliyaan</i>	'a loader' (animate/agent)
<i>yanaa-y</i>	'walk'	* <i>yanaayawaa</i>	'walker'
<i>nhamurra-li</i>	'bury'	* <i>nhamurralawaa</i>	'undertaker'
<i>ngawu-gi</i>	'drink'	* <i>ngawugibarra</i>	'a drinker', 'an alcoholic'
		* <i>ngawugiyaan</i>	'a drinker'
		* <i>ngawugiyawaa</i>	'a drinker'
<i>gaga-li</i>	'shout'	* <i>gaga</i>	'a shout'
<i>gaya-li</i>	'answer'	* <i>gaya</i>	'an answer'
<i>miinba-y</i>	'ask for'	* <i>miinba</i>	a question
<i>wuu-rri</i>	'give'	* <i>wuurr</i>	'gift'
<i>dhu-rri</i>	'pierce'	* <i>dhuurr</i>	'key'

## **5 Other word formation strategies**

In chapters three and four I consider some major word formation strategies which generally involve building on a single verb or nominal, mainly by suffixation, but also by reduplication. Chapter three also considered compound verb stems which are mainly formed using bound morphemes. Few verb stems involve joining two free morphemes and so there will be little further discussion of compound verb stems in this chapter.

This chapter looks at a number of other word formation strategies including compounding of free morphemes, borrowing and some minor strategies. Compounds and borrowings are briefly considered from a broad perspective, then from an Australian perspective and finally in the context of GY, and in particular of GY as a reviving language.

### **5.1 Compound words**

#### **5.1.1 Types of compounds**

Compounds are common in many languages, including Aboriginal languages. A simple definition of compounds is that they are words formed by joining two already existing words. However it will be seen that there are many compounds which do not fit this simple definition. Compounds can be considered under many criteria. One criteria is whether both the components are words. Another analysis is by the word class of the components of a compound and that of the compound itself. A further classification is by the semantic and syntactic relationship of the components and compound. The distinction between words and compound phrases is considered.

The components of a compound can be words, but also other morphemes. Anderson (1985:40) defines compounding as ‘word formation based on the combination of two or more members of (potentially) open lexical classes’ and so he includes as compounds words such as ‘rasp-berry’ and ‘cran-berry’ ‘chip-munk’ and ‘mush-room’ where one or both of the components does not appear as an independent word. This may be because the component is an archaic form which is no longer used. Other compounds contain only words that exist independently, for example: ‘black-berry’, ‘week-end’ and ‘over-take’. It is not clear whether Anderson would regard ‘over-take’ as a compound, since ‘over’, a place adverb, is not a member of an open word class.



The distinction between compounding and affixation is not always clear, since the distinction between an affix and a word is not always clear. Anderson (1985:40) says ‘do we call words such as ‘telegraph’, ‘telephone’, ‘phonograph’ and ‘dictaphone’ etc. compounds, prefixes plus stems or stems plus suffixes? – this is not a matter of major importance since the division is primarily a matter of convenience’. I adopt a similar approach here – it is the forming of the new words that is the major issue, rather than always being able to define the new word as compound or affixation to a stem.

The distinction between compounds and phrases is also at times unclear. This uncertainty exists even in a currently used language such as English where tests such as stress allocation and separability of the words can be used to try to distinguish compounds from phrases

Classification of compounds on the basis of the syntactic and semantic relationships of the components to each other and to the compound are looked at in Anderson (1986:46ff). His discussion centres on Chinese compounds, and a number of the types of compounds he discusses are not found in GY, so not all of his categories are given here. One distinction is between endocentric and exocentric compounds. Endocentric compounds have a function and meaning similar to the function of one part. For instance a ‘blackbird’ is semantically and syntactically related to ‘bird’. Exocentric compounds are not similar in syntactic function or meaning to either component. (Anderson quotes the Chinese ‘on-off’ = ‘switch’). He also discusses classification by the syntactic relation of the elements, such as ‘modifier-modified’ compounds and ‘verb-object’ compounds which are both common in GY, and ‘co-ordinate compounds’, which are not. Examples of co-ordinate compounds include ‘mother-father’ = ‘parent’ and ‘big-small’ = ‘size’.

Compounds can also be categorised by the word class of the components such as (noun-noun), (noun-verb) and the word class of the product. Nouns, adjectives and verbs are the common components, with the verbs often being nominalised. Another categorisation is by the semantic field of the elements, and in Australian languages it is common for body parts to be used in compound formation.

A final classification is by the degree to which the meaning of the compound is clear from the meaning of the elements. There is a continuum from a compositional, obvious meaning (bedroom, sandstone) to totally idiosyncratic meaning (nightmare, halfback [a football term]). Like other words compounds can undergo changes in meaning such as shift, broadening and narrowing.

Compounds are common in many Aboriginal languages as Dixon (1980:111) points out. A common form of compounding in Aboriginal languages is body-part incorporation. Dixon gives examples of Wik-Munkan compounds with idiosyncratic meanings. These and other similar compounds from Evans (1995:290) and Peile (1997:281) are listed below. Simpson (1991:37) discusses compounds in Warlpiri. They are common, and include a number of types, such as noun + noun, preverb + verb and verb (possibly nominalised) + verb. Warlpiri has noun + noun compounds with the first element as the head ('vehicle' + 'backside-proprietor' = 'utility') and others with the second element as the head ('grass' + 'eater'). These examples from other languages will provide good models to calque in GY.

#### Some glosses of compounds from Australian languages

<u>elements</u>	<u>meaning of compound</u>	<u>reference/language</u>
'throat' + 'one'	'trustworthy'	Dixon/ Wik-Munkan
'throat' + 'two'	'hypocritical'	Dixon/ Wik-Munkan
'throat' + 'give'	'tease'	Dixon/ Wik-Munkan
'hand' + 'give'	'help'	Dixon/ Wik-Munkan
'body' + 'bite'	'skite'	Evans/ Kayardild
'nose' + 'pull'	'snore'	Evans/ Kayardild
'long' + 'nose'	'inquisitive'	Peile/Kukutja
'vehicle' + 'backside-proprietor' = 'utility'		Simpson/Warlpiri

There is little information on compounds in the 'No-having' languages. Donaldson considers Wangaaybuwan compound verbs extensively, but they are not typical compounds in that the elements are generally bound forms rather than independently existing words. She does not consider other compounds. Williams does not discuss compounds.

#### **5.1.2 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay compounds**

GY compounds share many of the features of compounds in other languages, and in particular are similar to compounds in other Australian languages. The components of GY compounds can be separately existing words or morphemes that are found only in compounds. Appendix one contains numerous examples of GY compounds.

The first four examples in the following list are words that are clearly compounds but one component is not found separately. The last three examples are bird names which are probably compounds but none of the components has been found separately. The name *ban-ban-dhuluwi* ‘crested bellbird’ has the same pattern as other bird names which are clearly compound. The common component and the common meaning of the two names for the ‘pink eared duck’ indicates that they are compounds. The second elements may be related to *gabuul* – ‘mother louse’ and *dhuba-y* - (‘point’ verb, intransitive) but the similarity may be co-incidental, and even if it is not, there is little chance that any explanation of the derivation of the two words will found.

<u>compound</u>	<u>components</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>dhayn-dalmuu</i> -	‘man’ + ‘?’	‘messenger’
<i>dharra-widil</i>	‘thigh’ + ‘?’	‘trousers’
<i>dharra-wurra</i>	‘thigh’ + ‘?’	‘trousers’
<i>dharra-warru</i>	‘thigh’ + ‘?’	‘trousers’
<i>ban-ban-dhuluwi</i>	‘?’ + ‘?’ + ‘?’	‘crested bellbird’
<i>wili-dhuba</i>	‘?’ + ‘?’	‘pink eared duck’
<i>wili-gabuul</i>	‘?’ + ‘?’	‘pink eared duck’

A formal distinction can be made between a compound and a phrase with idiosyncratic meaning, but on semantic grounds the distinction is relatively unimportant. To return to English examples, while ‘courthouse’ is written as one word and ‘petrol station’ as two, they are effectively very similar. Their meaning is related to their component parts but is not totally predictable. For neither are the components easily separable. For both there are other compounds/phrases which use the same second component ‘outhouse’, ‘cattle station’, and many more.

For many ‘compounds’ that can be formed in GY it is to some extent an arbitrary decision whether to write some compounds as words or phrases. This is shown by the following existing GY compounds. Some are listed as words, others as phrases. There is no consistent pattern.

<u>‘compound’</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>components</u>	
<i>mil-guway</i>	‘bloodshot’	<i>mil</i> – ‘eye’	<i>guway</i> – ‘blood’
<i>mil binggarr</i>	‘Chinese man’	<i>mil</i> – ‘eye’	<i>binggarr</i> - unknown meaning
<i>bina guraarr</i>	‘rabbit’	<i>bina</i> – ‘ears’	<i>guraarr</i> – ‘long’

The components of GY compounds come from a variety of word classes. The majority of GY compounds are formed from two nominals, one of which is often a nominalised verb.

Examples of nominal-nominal compounds follow. Head first compounds are more common, and include:

<u>compound</u>	<u>components</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>bidjaay-bala</i>	‘mud’ + ‘white’	‘white paint’
<i>biri-bangga</i>	‘chest’ + ‘white’	‘short necked shag’ (a bird) ( <i>banggabaa</i> – ‘white’)
<i>guway-galiyarr</i>	‘blood’ + ‘light’	name for the light blood group
<i>guway-madhan</i>	‘blood’ + ‘dark’	name for the dark blood group

The last two examples come from one of the classification systems that were part of traditional GY society. Examples of head second compounds include:

<u>compound</u>	<u>components</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>gumba-djina</i>	‘flint-like’ + ‘foot’	a nickname - ‘hardfoot’
<i>munngu-ngulu</i>	‘wide across’ + ‘face’	name of a waterhole on the Narran River

There are also compounds where there is no head:

<u>compound</u>	<u>components</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>gunii-buu</i>	‘mum’ + ‘testicles’	‘red capped robin’
<i>mirri-ngamu</i>	‘dog’ + ‘breast’	‘jagged spear’

The name *guniibuu* comes from a story where the bird said *guniibuu*, asking its mother (*gunii*) for the testicles (*buu*) of a kangaroo she was cooking. The origin of the meaning of *mirringamu* is not clear. It may have to do with the row of barbs on a spear being compared to the row of teats (*ngamu*) on a bitch (*mirri* – ‘dog’).

There are a number of nominal-verb compounds which include a nominalised verb in second position, with the initial nominal generally the object of the nominalised verb.

<u>compound</u>	<u>components</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>bidjaay-mamal</i>	‘mud’ + ‘sticker’	‘fairy martin’ (a bird)
<i>dhina-garral</i>	‘foot’ + ‘cutter’	‘poison’
<i>murru-manamanaa</i>	‘backside’ + ‘shake’	‘dragonfly’ (the exact derivation of the verbal part is not known)
<i>manggi-warraywarraymal</i>	‘mussel (shellfish)’ + ‘bringer’	= ‘seagull’

Much less common are compounds which are object final. The following examples may well illustrate lexification of a phrase. In none of them is the verb formally nominalised.

<u>compound</u>	<u>components</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>guwaay-djiidjii</i>	‘say-Past’ + ‘djiidjii’	‘butcher bird’
<i>dhuni-garri-nyi</i>	‘sun’ + ‘go down-past’	‘sunset’

*dhuni-djurra-y*      ‘sun’ + ‘come-Past’      ‘sunrise’

In GY compounds the relationship between the meaning of the elements and the meaning of the compound ranges from compositional (e.g. *wii-nhii* below) to totally idiosyncratic. The range is shown in the following examples:

<u>compound</u>	<u>components</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>wii-nhii</i>	‘fire’ + ‘charcoal’	‘coals of a fire’
<i>mil-warra</i>	‘eye’ + ‘standing’	‘sore eye’, i.e. eye swollen up
<i>nguluu-manbuu</i>	‘face’ + ‘flat’	‘flat headed gudgeon’, a fish

When all of the above lists are considered it is clear that there is a range of patterns for forming GY compounds. Many of the examples also involve body part incorporation.

### 5.1.3 New compounds in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay

Compounding, as a strategy for forming new GY words, satisfies the two main criteria. It is a strategy already used in GY and many of the new words formed will be relatively easy to learn since their components will already be known. A relatively easy word forming strategy is to calque compounds from other Aboriginal languages. English compounds can also be calqued, but they should be used less.

The following are possible compounds which are calques of the Aboriginal language compounds listed above (5.1.1). The last two are unusual in that they incorporate and form a verb.

<u>proposed GY compound</u>	<u>components</u>	<u>gloss</u>
* <i>wuyu-milan</i>	‘throat’ + ‘one’	‘trustworthy’
* <i>wuyu-bulaarr</i>	‘throat’ + ‘two’	‘hypocritical’
* <i>wuyu-wuu-rrri</i>	‘throat’ + ‘give’	‘tease’
* <i>maa-wuu-rrri</i>	‘hand’ + ‘give’	‘help’

Below are some possible calques of English compounds.

<u>proposed GY compound</u>	<u>components</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>wanggal-gumbuluwi</i>	‘wheel-chair’	‘wheelchair’ (* <i>wanggal</i> and * <i>gumbuluwi</i> are also proposed words)
* <i>biyuu-dhural</i>	‘far-sound’	‘telephone’

Some components of compounds can be very productive. The example of ‘over’ in English is discussed in 2.2.3.2 and many English compounds include the word ‘room’. Below are examples of words in Tok Pisin (New Guinea) which include ‘haus’ = ‘house’. As

discussed above (5.1.2) the fact the following compounds are written as separate words rather than as one word does not lessen their status as semantic compounds.

compound	components	gloss
'haus sik'	'house' + 'sick'	'hospital, health clinic'
'haus kai'	'house' + 'food'	'an outside kitchen', 'eating area'
'liklik haus'	'little' + 'house'	'toilet'

A similarly productive system can be set up in GY. The examples below all include *gundhi* – 'house':

proposed compound	components	gloss
* <i>wilbaarr gundhi</i>	'car, vehicle' + 'house'	'garage, carport'
* <i>mangun gundhi</i>	'law' + 'house'	'courthouse'
* <i>gandjibal gundhi</i>	'policeman' + 'house'	'police station'
* <i>biibabiiba gundhi</i>	'book' + 'house'	'library'
* <i>petrol gundhi</i>	'petrol' + 'house'	'service station, petrol station'

The last example is included to illustrate that when there is no GY word an English word can be incorporated into GY discourse.

The meaning of the *gundhi* compounds is to some extent idiosyncratic. For instance \**biibabiiba gundhi* - 'book' + 'house' could be used for 'bookshop' or 'library' and \**mangun gundhi* - 'law' + 'house' could be used for 'courthouse', 'parliament' or for 'lawyer's office'.

Other words which could be widely used in similar phrases are 'room' and 'shop'. GY currently has no word for 'room', but '*garrawal*', currently glossed 'store', could be adopted as the general word for 'shop' and used to form many compounds. If a GY word for 'room' is developed it will be relatively easy to calque many English 'room' words such as 'classroom', 'bedroom' and 'dining room'.

The above examples do not cover all the types of new compounds that could be formed in GY but do show that compounding can be widely used.

#### 5.1.3.1 *Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay demonstrative and directional words*

One area of GY which has many compounds is its demonstrative and directional words. However many of these words are currently of limited use since their meanings are not clearly known. The list below shows a large number of demonstrative and directional

words which include the morpheme *ngaarri*. The words include numerous other morphemes such as *-ma*, *-baa* and *-buu* whose meaning and use is not known and some such as *-gili* – ‘side’ whose meaning is known. Demonstrative and directional words sometimes make a number of distinctions including a locational/directional distinction, a near/mid-distance/far distinction and a visible/not visible distinction and possibly others. The GY words listed may well involve some of these but so far the meaning of most remains vaguely defined.

A full analysis of GY demonstrative and directional words would include listing the morphemes used, their meanings, the pattern used for combining the morphemes and the meaning of the compounds formed. That sort of analysis would clarify the meaning of demonstrative and directional words currently attested and would show how to form further words if they are needed. It contrasts with the present situation, where only few words have a clear meaning and use (e.g. *ngaarri-gili-dja* – ‘on the far side of’) and there is no clear pattern for use of the other words or for the formation of new words.

The list includes attested words which include *ngaarri*. Most are taken from the GY tapes and the literal translations from the tapes is given. These translations often do not distinguish the use and meanings of the various forms found. The demonstrative and directional words have been hyphenated to show possible morphemes.

GY demonstrative/directional words which include *ngaarri*

GY demonstrative/directional words	translation and comment
<i>ngaarri, ngaarri-ma, ngaarri-ma-wu</i>	‘over there’
<i>ngaarri yurrul-gu</i>	‘to the bush’ ( <i>yurrul-gu</i> – ‘bush-allative’)
<i>ngaarri-gili-dja</i>	‘on the far side of’
<i>ngaarri-mal</i>	‘that’
<i>ngaarri-ma-dhaay</i>	‘here’ ( <i>dhaay</i> – ‘to here’)
<i>ngaarri-m-ba-li</i>	‘that-a-way’
<i>ngaarri-ma buunhu-ga</i>	‘in that grass’ ( <i>buunhu-ga</i> – ‘grass-locative’)
<i>ngaarri-ma-lay</i>	no translation
<i>ngaarr-ma</i>	‘that’
<i>ngaarrri-baa</i>	‘upward, up’
<i>ngaarri-baa-li dhurra-li</i>	‘come up’ ( <i>dhurra-li</i> – ‘come’)
<i>ngaarri-buu</i>	‘over there’
<i>ngaarri-ngaarri</i>	no translation

There are numerous other directional/locatives which do not include *ngaarri*, and the area awaits further analysis.

## **5.2 Borrowing words**

In many languages borrowing is a major word creation strategy. This section looks at some general features of borrowing and at GY borrowings from English. A suggested approach for GY to use when borrowing from English and from Aboriginal languages has been outlined in Chapter two.

### **5.2.1 Aspects of borrowing.**

Borrowing has a number of advantages and disadvantages for the borrowing language. It generally results in an widely agreed on and easily produced word, for example ‘pizza’, ‘teepee’ or ‘atoll’. A major disadvantage is that if there is too much borrowing from one source the borrowing language can lose status. Other aspects of borrowing that will be considered here include the difference between adoption and adaptation, changes in the meaning of the borrowed word, calques and loan shifts.

Borrowing is common in many languages, for instance Hock and Joseph (1996:285) state that between 65% and 75% of English is of foreign origin. Often borrowing is a two stage process, with initial adoption followed by adaptation. Adoption is borrowing a word without any explicit phonological change to the original word. In other words the original pronunciation of the word is retained, at least to the extent possible for the speakers of the borrowing language. ‘Caffe latte’ is a current example. Australian pronunciation of this word is not according to Australian English pronunciation rules. The fact that it is not Italian pronunciation either is, I suspect, not a deliberate choice, just lack of ability to pronounce Italian. Another example of adoption is the use of ‘computer’ in Italian. Again the pronunciation in Italy is different from that in Australia, with the final sound in Italian being closer to [a] than to [ʼ].

Adaptation on the other hand is the modification of the word to fit into the phonology of the borrowing language. This is often indicated by a deliberate change of spelling. Some examples are: ‘fowl’ (English) to *baawuul* (Yuwaalaraay), ‘Ireland’ (English) to ‘Irlanda’ (Italian), or the general tendency of words borrowed into Japanese to be modified so they



fit the Japanese Consonant-Vowel syllable structure. At times there is sociolinguistic status in using foreign words, so it is likely that ‘mutton’ and other words were originally adopted from the French with its foreign pronunciation and status, but they have since been adapted. In other circumstances there will be sociolinguistic motivation to immediately use the locally adapted pronunciation.

There are other differences apart from pronunciation between a borrowed word and its source word. In many cases the borrowed word has a much smaller range meaning in the borrowing language. Manczak (in Fisiak 1985:368) shows that the English words ‘club’, ‘dog’ and ‘sport’, borrowed into German, are used much less than in English, and have narrower meanings. Borrowed words can also broaden or shift in meaning.

Calques are a variation on simple borrowing, and are a very important aspect of new word formation. Calqueing is ‘translating a morphologically complex foreign expression by means of a novel combination of native elements that match the meaning and structure of the foreign expressions and their component parts’ (Hock and Joseph 1996:264). Examples they give include the English ‘world view’ from German ‘Weltanschauung’ and the French ‘gratte-ciel’ (and Italian ‘gratta cielo’) from English ‘skyscraper’. Calques are important sociolinguistically in that they contain much that is part of the calqueing language, whereas borrowings are obviously foreign. Calques help maintain the status of the borrowing language. Calques are also easier to learn than totally borrowed words, since they are composed of words or elements from the host language.

Another form of borrowing is to borrow the extended or metaphorical use of a word. Hercus (p.c.) points out that the Wangkungurru people have extended the meaning of their word for ‘navel’ to ‘wheel’. Other languages, including GY, could similarly extend the meaning of their word for ‘navel’.

Word borrowing, like other aspects of word formation, is often quite unsystematic as the following comparison of English and Italian country or city names shows. The names are all from English speaking areas (apologies to the Irish and Scots), so it is assumed that the direction of borrowing is into the Italian, yet the way they are treated varies considerably.

<u>English</u>	<u>Italian</u>
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‘England’	‘Inghilterra’ – calque, with one component adapted (‘Eng’ to ‘Inghil’) and one translated (‘land’ to ‘terra’)
‘Ireland’	‘Irlanda’ – phonological adaptation – no calque
‘Scotland’	‘Scozia’ – phonological adaptation (+?abbreviation)
‘New Zealand’	‘Nuova Zelanda’ – calque, with translation and adaptation as in ‘Inghilterra’, but ‘land’ is not translated here.
‘New York’	‘New York’ – no modification
‘United States’	‘Stati Uniti’ – translation

### 5.2.2 Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay word borrowing

I now speculate about GY borrowing from other Aboriginal languages, and look at the characteristics of GY borrowing of English words.

GY is so regular in its phonotactics that when exceptions are found in the wordlists their status as GY words must be questioned. The possibility of errors creeping into the records of GY has already been discussed. Austin (1994) has *maang* – ‘message stick’. It is the only GY word listed as ‘ng’ final, but final ‘ng’ is permissible in Wiradjuri and other neighbouring languages. There are many cognates shared by the ‘no-having’ languages, but in no other examples is the GY version phonotactically irregular. The status of *maang* as a GY word is therefore very dubious and it is clear that any borrowing GY has done from other Aboriginal languages have involved adaptation, not adoption, and so any future borrowings should also be adaptations.

While borrowing from English is not a recommended procedure in the current state of GY, many English words were borrowed when GY was much more widely used. The recorded English borrowings show a number of characteristics. They are all fully phonologically adapted. They are overwhelmingly concrete nouns with only one adjective – *nhuubala* – ‘new’ and a small number of verbs borrowed. Another characteristic is that there are often a number of versions of adapted words. This variability is not always shown in GY records, since linguists generally worked with a small number of people and so were not likely to hear the full range of versions. Also any variation heard tends to be left out of published material for the sake of simplicity. Below are some versions of borrowed words. Not all of these have been found in published material.

<u>English meaning</u>	‘white woman’	‘policeman’	‘trousers’
<u>source word/s</u>	‘white gin’	‘constable’	?‘trousers’
<u>borrowed forms</u>	<i>wadjiin</i>	<i>gandjibal</i>	<i>dharrawidil</i>

*wadjin*  
*waadjiin*

*gadjuwal*  
*gandjabul*  
*gandjibul*

*dharrawurra*  
*dharruwarru*

The words for ‘trousers’ quite possible combine an element of borrowing with an element of compounding using *dharra* – ‘thigh’. This is the sort of ‘serendipity’ which can increase the likelihood of a new word actually being adopted.

The variation may be a result of the word formation process, since there are often many ways of adapting an English word (or other borrowing) to GY phonotactics, and also due to the fact that the word is new, and so there had not been the time for a standard version to become established. Some of the more commonly used borrowed words have had time to establish a standard form, for example *dhimba*- ‘sheep’ and *dhuga* – ‘sugar’.

As well as the words currently recorded it would be expected that many more English words were borrowed and adapted but they have not been recorded since they also dropped out of use fairly quickly as GY use declined.

While some words are clearly adaptations of English, others are of mixed descent, for instance *milam-baraay*, *milam-biyaay* – ‘cow’ from ‘milk-with’, where – *biyaay*(YW)/*baraay*(GM) are the ‘with’ suffix<sup>4</sup>. Others are of doubtful origin: *ngaaymbuwan* – ‘saucepan’ may be derived from ‘saucepan’, but the derivation is unusual in replacing initial ‘s’ with ‘ng’ instead of the usual ‘dh’. Also –*buwan* is the Wangaaybuwan ‘with’ suffix, and the word may have come into GY from that language. It is typical that this sort of uncertainty exists about some words.

There are some generalisations that can be made about the phonotactic adaptation of English words. English vowels not used in GY are replaced by a close GY vowel. English consonants that are not used in GY, or which are in a position (word initial, word final, consonant cluster) where they not used in GY, are adapted. I will only cover some of the more common adaptations, and they are set out in the table below.

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<sup>4</sup> The word ‘milk’ has been adapted as both *milgin* and *milam*. The form *milam* is only used in the compound *milam-biyaay* since word final ‘m’ is not permitted in GY.

The word initial phonemes in GY are *b, dh/dj, g, m, ng, nh/ny w, y* (the glides and the peripheral and non-apical stops and nasals). Words can end with any of the *vowels* and with *l, n, rr* or *y*. (a glide and 3 apicals if ‘rr’ is regarded as an apical). In the following table ‘C’ = ‘consonant’ and ‘V’ = ‘vowel’.

Table 5-1: GY adaptation of English phonemes

English sound	GY replacement	example(s)	gloss
initial ‘f’	b,	<i>baawuul</i>	‘fowl’
initial ‘fC’	buC	<i>burramban</i>	‘frying pan’
		<i>bulaawa(a)</i>	‘flour’
initial ‘bC’	buC	<i>burraadal</i>	‘bridle’
initial ‘r’	add ‘yu-’	<i>yurabirr</i>	‘rabbit’
		<i>yurraamu</i>	‘rum’
initial ‘s, sh, st’	dh	<i>dhaadal</i>	‘saddle’
		<i>dhawubu</i>	‘soap’
		<i>dhimba</i>	‘sheep’
		<i>dhuwadi</i>	‘shirt’
		<i>dhagin, dhagi</i>	‘stocking’
final ‘f’	-ba, -bu	<i>nhaaybu, nhaayba</i>	‘knife’
final ‘s, sh’	rr	<i>maadjirr</i>	‘matches’
		<i>nhiigiliirr</i>	‘necklace’
		<i>dhindiirr</i>	‘tin dish’
<u>final stops:</u>			
final ‘t’ (and ‘d’?)	rr	<i>budjigurr</i>	‘pussycat’
		<i>nhanigurr</i>	‘nannygoat’
other final stops	add Vrr or Vn	<i>bigurr</i>	‘pig’
		<i>milgin</i>	‘milk’ (‘milk’ is also <i>milam</i> when used in compounds)
	∅	if <i>dhimba</i> is from ‘jumbuck’	

Epenthetic vowels are introduced into consonant clusters which are not allowed in GY. See above for word-initial clusters, and the following word internal clusters: *babuligaarr* – ‘public house’ and *birridul* – ‘pistol’ and *nhiigiliirr* – ‘necklace’. These word internal consonant clusters can also be simplified as in: *gandjibal* – ‘constable’. There are no examples of adaptation of vowel-initial English words, and the nearest example is *yanggiidjaa* – ‘handkerchief’, where the initial aspirant is replaced by a glide, /y/. If other vowel initial words were to be adapted, they would also become glide initial.

The above does not attempt to create a comprehensive guideline for adapting borrowings from English, but points out some of the main features. Recently the word ‘coffee’ was adapted as *gadhi* – ‘coffee’ assuming that /f/ would be replaced by /dh/. The table shows that the assumption is wrong, with /f/ replaced by /b/, so a better adaptation would be *gabi*.

A list of borrowings from English is in appendix three.

### **5.3 Minor Word formation strategies**

This last section lists a variety of other word formation strategies. Only a few will be considered in the context of GY, but all of the strategies could be used to some extent. These strategies are of relatively minor importance.

The following list of ways of forming new words is from Frankin and Rodman (1974:202) and Hock and Joseph (1996:295). The process is named, an example given, and if necessary the process is then described. At times some further comments are added.

<u>coinage</u>	‘Kodak’, ‘Xerox’. Coinage, in this sense, is to assemble a phonotactically permissible set of syllables and give them a meaning. There is no process linking the new word to other words. ‘Kodak’ and ‘Xerox’ were presumably chosen because they were seen as adding to the appeal of the products.
<u>acronyms</u>	‘radar’. The first letter (occasionally more) of each word in a phrase forms the new word. ‘radar’ is from ‘(ra)dio (d)etecting (a)nd (r)anging’
<u>blends</u>	‘smog’. Parts of two words are combined, here (smoke + fog). A more relevant example for this work is the Maori word <u>konganuku</u> – ‘metal, natural’ from <u>kongakonga</u> – ‘fragment, chip’; and <u>nuku</u> – ‘the earth’. (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Maori 1996:79)
<u>abbreviations</u>	‘telly’, ‘bus’ from ‘television’, ‘omnibus’.

<u>back-formation</u>	‘orate’ from ‘orator’, and ‘pea’ from ‘peas’, which was originally a mass noun, like ‘rice’. The process results from the reinterpretation of a word, for instance the /s/ in ‘peas’ is reinterpreted as a plural, and so the ‘singular’ is assumed to exist.
<u>synecdoche</u>	‘wheel’ for ‘car’, ‘hands’ for ‘workers’. This is the designation of something by its most salient part.
<u>ellipsis</u>	‘car’ from ‘motor car’. One part of a phrase is used instead of the whole phrase.
<u>toponyms</u>	‘jeans’ from ‘Genoa’. The name of a place is used for a product or other object.
<u>eponyms</u>	‘sandwich’. The name of a person is used with a new meaning.
<u>onomatopoeia</u>	The sound of the words is similar to its meaning. This is common in many GY bird names, such as <i>dhirridhirri</i> - ‘willy wagtail’.
<u>metonymy</u>	‘pulpit’ for ‘clergy’, ‘the bar’ for ‘lawyers’. A group is referred to by something they are associated with.
<u>recycling</u>	is the practice of taking words that are no longer used in a language and assigning them a new meaning, generally associated with the original meaning. This practice has been used in Iceland as an alternative to borrowing. Hock and Joseph (1996:295) give the example of the Old Icelandic word ‘sima’ whose meaning is somewhat obscure, but from context is guessed to be something like ‘cable’ or ‘rope’. The word ‘sima’ has been recycled in Modern Icelandic as ‘telecommunication’.

Other ways that the meanings of established words can change include:

broadening      ‘holiday’ is derived from ‘holy day’.

- narrowing            ‘deer’, which once meant ‘animal’ is now a particular mammal.
- meaning shift      ‘bead’ meant ‘prayer’, and now refers to the actual object, whether on a rosary or elsewhere.
- slang usage        ‘the fuzz’, referring to police, and other examples such as rhyming slang - e.g. ‘joe blake’ = ‘snake’ in Australia.
- euphemism        ‘pass away’, for die.

Coinage is not a widely used strategy. This possibly because the concept is one that people are not comfortable with and so other strategies are used. Recently GY formed the numbers ‘hundred’, ‘thousand’ and ‘million’ by borrowing and adapting. The numbers could just as validly have been coined, but borrowing was easier. GY acronyms will be difficult to form given the few permissible word initial phonemes.

Other processes also need to be used with care. *Ngadhul* is ‘stump’ in the wordlist, and on the basis of that the meaning was broadened to include ‘seat’ and ‘chair’. However the earlier GY meaning of *ngadhul* was something like ‘standing dead tree’. It was broadened to include ‘stump’ once it became common to cut trees down. The use of *ngadhul* as ‘chair’ is likely to distort the original meaning. A preferable process is to find another word for ‘seat’ and to retain *ngadhul* with its original meaning of ‘standing dead tree’.

GY is experiencing what Hock and Joseph (1996:263) refer to as ‘loan shifts’. ‘These involve changing the meaning of an existing native word so as to accommodate the meaning of a foreign word.’ They give examples of old English words which have been changed to accommodate Christian concepts: ‘heofon’ – ‘sky / abode of gods and warriors fallen in battle’ became the Christian word ‘heaven’, and ‘hel’ – the ‘abode (below the earth) of the dead who have not fallen in battle’ became the Christian ‘hell’. This process can be expected to happen whenever two languages with different ways of seeing the world meet, and terms will be adapted to accommodate the ‘new’ world view. GY examples include the adaptation of kin terms such as ‘mother’ and ‘father’ to new meanings. *Gunii*

earlier meant the ‘blood mother and all her sisters’, and similarly for *bubaa* – ‘father’. The meaning of these words is now generally restricted to blood parents or step-parents.

There are two other principles of word formation that are quite subtle, but do show that the Association between sound and meaning in words is not as random as might be thought. Hock and Joseph (1996:227) discuss sound symbolism. ‘Examples like cheep vs moo illustrate a very general tendency of onomatopoeia to use high front vowels to refer to the sounds of young or small animals or human beings .. sounds emitted by smaller creatures tend to be higher pitched, and consequently closer to high front vowels.’ They also (1996:292f) examine rhyming formation, instancing a set of words – (a) drag, (b) fag, (c) flag, (d) lag and (e) sag - that end in ‘-ag’ and all have something to do with ‘slow, tired, or tedious action’. The first four go back to earlier forms the already contained ‘-ag’. However only (b) and (d) had to do with ‘slow, tired, or tedious action’, and the meaning of the others was extended to include these aspect. In (e) the final consonant changed from [k] to [g], so that it also developed a similar association of final ‘-ag’ with that set of meaning.

These theories lend substance to the idea that there are underlying patterns in language, which actually reduce its seeming randomness. If there are such patterns, then an actual language is much easier to learn because what may seem to be a very large number of random facts, random associations of sounds and meanings, in fact do have some pattern. A further illustration of these patterns is that native French speakers generally instinctively agree on the gender of any proposed new noun, showing there is a subtle pattern underlying what for a long time looked like a random association of word and gender.

This is relevant to word formation, because to produce new words which do fit into the subtle patterns of the language assumes that the producer is either explicitly or implicitly aware of the patterns, in other words knows quite subtle aspects of the explicit grammar, or has a good implicit knowledge of the language. No-one qualifies on either grounds for GY, so it is likely that GY will produce words which do not obey the subtle rules of the language. A result is that learning new GY will be harder than learning old GY. One reason for borrowing and calquing from other Aboriginal languages is that in doing so it is more likely that these patterns of GY will be maintained since many of them will be shared with the other Aboriginal languages.



### 5.3.1 Possible new borrowed words

It has been pointed out a number of times that the ideal sources for GY borrowings are Wiradjuri, Wayilwan and Wangaaybuwan. It will also be easier to borrow from these languages if comprehensive dictionaries are produced and even easier if computer versions of those dictionaries are produced. Below is a short list of words that could be borrowed into GY from Wangaaybuwan. These are taken largely from Donaldson's 'Grammar of Wangaaybuwan' (1980). Many more such words could be listed. The words also need further investigation to see if homonyms exist in GY, or at times whether there might be a more suitable word to use in GY. The comments made in 3.2.1 about calquing compound words from other languages where possible rather than borrowing them need to be kept in mind when considering borrowing.

Table 5-2: Some potential GY borrowings from Wangaaybuwan

<b>WB word</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>GY form</b>	<b>GY gloss/comments</b>
<i>guguma</i>	'stump'	* <i>guguma</i>	'chair'
<i>gadhal</i>	'bough shed'	* <i>gadhal</i>	'room'
<i>gadurr</i>	'wind break'	* <i>gadurr</i>	'wall'
<i>warruy</i>	'apron'	* <i>warruy</i>	'apron'
<i>wigi</i>	'ripe, cooked'	* <i>wigi</i>	'ripe'
<i>bada</i>	'dress'	* <i>bada</i>	'dress'
<i>waluny</i>	'bark ribbon'	* <i>walun</i>	'curtain'
<i>mama-li</i>	'take'	* <i>mama-li</i>	'buy'
<i>bunbil</i>	'a 'pillow' used for keeping time when singing/dancing'		'time'
<i>dhanaN</i>	'round'	* <i>bunbil</i>	'time'
		* <i>dhana</i>	'round', 'circle'
		* <i>dhanan</i>	'round', 'circle'
<i>ngawarr</i>	'pouch'	* <i>ngawarr</i>	'pouch'
<i>warrigal</i>	'wild'	* <i>warrigal</i>	'wild'
<i>nguyaa</i>	'pet' (nominal)	* <i>nguyaa</i>	'pet' (nominal)
<i>wava</i>	'dead end of a burrow'		
		* <i>wava</i>	'dead end'
<i>mayaal</i>	'incompetent'	* <i>mayaal</i>	'incompetent'

Numerous words could also be borrowed from other Australian languages.

## **6 Summary of new word formation processes and other new material**

This chapter begins with some brief points about considerations that are appropriate when forming new words and then summarises the major word formation strategies given in chapters three to five. It also contains a list of new morphemes defined or suggested for borrowing.

### **6.1 Considerations in new word formation**

Below are some of the main considerations important in the formation of new GY words.

The ownership of GY rests with GY people and they make the decisions about the adoption of proposed words.

The aim of Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay word formation is to create words that are consistent with traditional GY grammar and which assist GY language revival.

The general starting point in the creation of new words is the translation of an English word. However it may not be appropriate to use the same word class in GY as in English. For instance ‘without’ is a word in English but a suffix *-DHalibaa* in GY. Also it may be better if a general GY word is developed rather than a specialised one. For instance *\*wal* – ‘container’ can be used for the English words ‘can’, ‘tin’, ‘bin’, ‘box’ and more.

As well as defining the GY meaning, which may not correspond to any one English word, other properties of the word may need to be specified. For instance GY verbs will be either transitive or intransitive. The cases of verb argument cases may need to be defined. For instance with *guwaa-li* – ‘talk’ the person spoken to is in dative case and some new words may need to have similar patterns defined.

An important choice is between derivational and non-derivational processes. Derivational processes begin with existing GY words. These are changed, mainly by suffixing or reduplication. The major non-derivational process is compounding. Minor non-derivational processes include borrowing and a number of others.

When a derivational process or compounding is used to form a new word, often the starting point is to conceptualise the new word in terms of existing GY words. For instance ‘party’ can be thought of as involving ‘food’, ‘drink’, ‘laugh’, ‘talk’, ‘sing’ or a number of other words. A word for ‘party’ can then be formed from any of these, or perhaps from two of them if compounding is used to form the word. Another example of the way new words can be conceptualised is ‘convince’ in 6.2. In general there will be many possible GY words to translate any one English word.

The greater the resources available to the people doing the word creation the better the result will be. Resources include information about GY, information about closely related Aboriginal languages, information about other Aboriginal languages, knowledge about the current situation of GY revival and an awareness about word-formation in general.

## 6.2 Morphemes for compound verb formation

These morphemes are discussed in Chapter 3 and summarised in 3.4.7.1. They are repeated in the tables below. Examples of their use are in 3.4.8. One example is ‘convince’ - \**burra-ya-li* - ‘change-say’. It is based on analysing ‘convince’ as ‘change someone’s mind by talking’ and uses the morphemes *burra-* and *-ya-li* from the tables below.

Table 6-1: Morphemes for forming compound verb stems

### Stem initial morphemes

<i>burra-</i>	‘change, new’
<i>bun-</i>	‘change, new’
<i>dha-</i>	‘test’
<i>dhiya-</i>	‘lift up’
<i>dhu-</i>	‘move (transitive)’
<i>dhuwi-</i>	‘go into’
<i>ga-</i>	‘break’
<i>gaya-</i>	‘move in circles’
<i>manu-</i>	‘do to someone else’s (pejorative)’
<i>wii-</i>	‘lie down’
<i>buu-</i>	‘breath, air’
<i>yan-</i>	‘join up with’
<i>yila-</i>	‘sit on’
<i>miin-</i>	‘to agent’
<i>?wali-</i>	‘negative feeling’

### Stem final morphemes

<i>-ba-li</i>	‘emit sound’,
<i>-ba-li</i>	causative (not ‘done with hands’)
<i>-bi-li</i>	‘move away’

<i>-bi-li</i>	inchoative
<i>-dha-li</i>	‘eating’
<i>-ga-li</i>	‘pierce’
<i>-ma-li</i>	‘do, do with hand, cause’
<i>-mi-li</i>	‘do with eye, look’
<i>-wa-li</i>	‘put in’
<i>-wi-li</i>	‘move away’
<i>-ya-li</i>	‘speaking’
<i>-rra-li</i>	‘move into’
<i>-dha-li</i>	‘eat’
<i>-uwi-y</i>	‘back’
<i>*-dhi-li</i>	‘do with foot’

### 6.2.1.1 Other new verb suffixes

The following tables list new suffixes. Those in 6-2a (a copy 3-4a) are newly described GY suffixes and those in 6-2b (a copy 3-4b) are suffixes proposed for borrowing from Wangaaybuwan.

Table 6-2a: Newly described GY verb suffixes

<b>suffix</b>	<b>gloss</b>
<i>-dha-y</i>	‘eating’
<i>-gi-y</i>	‘around’
<i>-nga-y</i>	‘adopt position’
<i>-bi-li</i>	‘let’

Table 6-2b: Verb suffixes GY can borrow from Wangaaybuwan

<b>suffix</b>	<b>gloss</b>
<i>*-gaa-y</i>	‘a bit’,
<i>*-NHumi-y</i>	‘before’,
<i>*-bi-y</i>	‘behind’
<i>*-DHunma-y</i>	‘in a group’.
<i>*-mi-y</i>	‘watching’
<i>*-ngama-y</i>	‘busy’
<i>*-DHurri-y</i>	‘to get even’ + other meanings
<i>*-DHa-y</i>	‘for oneself’

## 6.3 Forming new nominals

### 6.3.1 Nominal suffixes which form new nominals

This topic is treated at length in section 4.2. Below are a list of suffixes which can be used to form new nominals and recommendations about their use.

Table 6-3: Nominal suffixes for forming new words

<b>suffix</b>	<b>meaning</b>	<b>recommendation for idiosyncratic use</b>
<i>-DHuul</i>	little +	occasional use
<i>-ili</i>	little, affectionate	occasional use
<i>-bidi</i>	big	occasional use
<i>-gaali</i>	group of two	occasional use
<i>-galgaa</i>	general plural	occasional use
<i>-gal</i>	diminutive plural	occasional use
<i>-(g)aa</i>	(Poss) senior	occasional use
<i>-Luu?</i>	all possible	occasional use
<i>(b)araay, - (b)iyaay</i>	with (comitative)	recommended
<i>-bil</i>	with a lot	occasional use
<i>-bilaay</i>	with a lot	recommended
<i>-wan</i>	with prominent	recommended
<i>-DHalibaa</i>	without	recommended
<i>-DHaa</i>	without – (abbreviated form)	occasional use
<i>-nginda</i>	wanting	recommended
<i>-giirr</i>	like	recommended
<i>-gaalu</i>	pretend	recommended
<i>-(b)aa</i>	‘domain’ of	recommended
<i>-barra</i>	belonging to the country of	recommended
<i>-gayaluu</i>	inhabitant of	recommended
<i>-gal</i>	group, mob	recommended
<i>-uwi</i>	back	recommended
<i>-DHaan</i>	skilled at	recommended
<i>-(b)iyan</i>	blossom of	recommended
<i>-awaa</i>	habitual	recommended
<i>-DHaa</i>	neutral suffix	recommended
<i>-(g)aa</i>	neutral suffix	recommended
<i>*-bilaarr</i>	owner of	recommended

It is also recommended that a number of Wangaaybuwan suffixes be borrowed, but not for word creation use. They are listed below in 6-3b, a copy of table 4-3.

Table 6-3b: Nominal suffixes recommended for borrowing from Wangaaybuwan

<b>suffix</b>	<b>meaning</b>	<b>recommendation for idiosyncratic use</b>	<b>WB form</b>
<i>*-buy</i>	group (>2)	not recommended	<i>-buy</i>
<i>*-galaydjaa</i>	reciprocal plural	not recommended	<i>-galaydjaaN-</i>
<i>*-girrba</i>	a party of	not recommended	<i>-girrbaN-</i>
<i>*-bilaarr</i>	owner of	recommended	<i>-bilaarr</i>

### 6.3.2 New nominals formed by reduplication

Nominal reduplication which forms idiosyncratic new words involves the full reduplication of a disyllabic nominal or nominalised verb. The main use of this reduplication in forming new words is to form a nominal which can function as either an adjective or a noun. If ‘X’ is the original nominal the adjective XX often means ‘having lots of X’ or ‘having something typical of X’. The noun is something which has the quality XX. For instance below \**yiya* as an adjective means ‘having lots of teeth’ and as a noun can be used for ‘gears’.

original root	reduplicated root	first meaning	idiosyncratic meaning
<i>yiya</i> – ‘tooth’	* <i>yiya</i>	‘toothed, toothy’	‘gears’ as in an engine

Table 6-4 is a copy of table 4-4. It shows recommended patterns of reduplication.

Table 6-4: Patterns of reduplication recommended for forming new roots in GY

source word	process /result	result
disyllabic noun	total reduplication	a) adjective = ‘noun-like’
		b) noun: idiosyncratic use
<i>buyu</i> – ‘leg’	* <i>buyubuyu</i>	a) ‘leggy’
		b) ‘millipede’
l class verb:	(root + l) reduplicated	a) adjective = ‘verb-like’
		b) noun: idiosyncratic use
<i>dhubi-li</i> – ‘spit’	* <i>dhubildhubil</i>	a) ‘spitty’
		b) ‘a person, thing who spits’
y class verb:	root reduplicated	a) adjective: ‘verb-like’
		b) noun: idiosyncratic use
<i>buwi-y</i> – ‘rest’	* <i>buwibuwi</i>	a) ‘restful’
		b) ‘tranquiliser’

### 6.3.3 New nominals formed from verbs

A number of processes for forming nominals from verbs are discussed in 4.4. The recommended processes are summarised below in a table which is a copy of 4-9. These processes are based on examples found in GY material. The processes are not very

common and so care needs to be exercised that they are not overused. This area of GY grammar will benefit from further comparative studies with other Aboriginal languages.

Table 6-5: Nominalisation of GY verbs

nominalisation type	verb class specific suffix				common suffix	nominal produced
	l	y	rr	ng		
<b>non-agent</b>						
verb stem +	l	-	rr	-	+ ∅ (zero)	general nominal
verb stem +	∅	∅	-	∅	+ ∅ (zero)	result of action
<b>agent</b>						
verb stem +	l	∅	rr	gi	+ -yaan	agent
verb stem +	l	y	rr	gi	+ -awaa	actor (habitual/frequent)
verb stem +	l	y	rr	gi	+ -barra	'prone to' (pejorative)

General nominals cover the semantic fields of instrument, product, patient and sundry others.

Examples of the use of these processes involves *guwaa-li* – ‘talk, say’ are:

- \**guwaal* ‘a speaker (non-agent)’ i.e. part of a public address system
- \**guwaa* ‘a speech’
- \**guwaaliyaan* ‘the speaker’ (who is the speaker tonight?)
- \**guwaalawaa* ‘a lecturer or preacher’
- \**guwaalbarra* ‘a person who talks a lot’ (pejorative connotation)

#### 6.4 Non-derivational processes

These are discussed in Chapter five. The main process recommended is borrowing from related Aboriginal languages. The main sources are the published material on Wangaaybuwan and Wiradjuri. Some phonological adaptation may be needed.

Words can be borrowed, but so can other parts of languages. I have proposed that some Wangaaybuwan suffixes and morphemes used in forming compound verbs could be borrowed into GY. GY can also borrow ideas from other languages. For instance the way other languages extend the meaning of words, form compounds or form metaphors. There are many examples that GY can borrow or calque. The first three below are Wangaaybuwan.

The adjective *ngarrul* – ‘crunchy’ can be directly borrowed into GY.

The compound *mara-galay* - ‘hand-only’ = ‘empty handed’ (Donaldson 1980:251) can be calqued in GY to form *\*mara-biyal* and it too can be used for ‘empty handed’.

The Wangaaybuwan expression ‘spirit chasing itself’ means ‘in a frenzy’ (Donaldson 1980:231) and the expression can be calqued into GY.

Wangkungurru people have extended their word for ‘navel’ to ‘wheel’. The GY word for navel is *wirigal* and its meaning can be similarly extended.

The aim of the thesis has been to detail some processes that will lead to better production of new words in Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay. Continued work on these and related languages will lead to further development of GY grammar, not only in the area of word production, but in many other areas.



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## Appendix 1 – Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay compounds

This is a listing of some GY compounds. Also included are words that may be compounds but where there is not enough information about the components to be sure. Sometimes the actual form of the compound is not certain. Some words are grouped at the end of the list to show how one component can be frequently used.

compound word	components	gloss of compound
<i>bidjaay-bala</i>	‘mud’ + ‘white’	‘white paint’
<i>bidjaay-mamal</i>	‘mud’ + ‘sticker’	‘fairy martin’ (a bird)
<i>bina-dhabiirr</i>	‘ear’ + ? <i>dhabi-y – i</i> ‘stop’	‘take notice, pay attention’
<i>bina-mayaa</i>	‘ear’ + ?	‘saltbush, large’
<i>birraa-ngulu</i>	‘tomahawk’ + ‘face’	a wife of Baayaami
<i>birri-bangga</i>	‘chest’ + ‘white’	‘short necked shag’ (a bird)
<i>buman.garriya/ bumagarriya</i>	‘hit-?’ + ‘legendary crocodile (garriya)’	‘place where the Garriya was slain’
<i>bungun- bundi</i>	‘arm, wing’ + ‘stick’	‘redwing parrot’
<i>buyu-waalwaal</i>	‘leg’ + ‘bark (of dog)’	‘pied stilt’ (a bird)
<i>dhan.gal-aadhil</i>	?	‘message bird, grave-digger bird’; cf <i>dhan.gal</i> – ‘shelly log’,
<i>dharra-wawul</i>	‘thigh, leg’ + ‘narrow’	a place name, said to = English ‘Terewah’, a branch of Narran Lake.
<i>dharra-widil</i>	‘thigh’ + ‘?’	‘trousers’; possibly a borrowing
<i>dharra-wurra</i>	‘thigh’ + ‘?’	‘trousers’; possibly a borrowing
<i>dhawun.-galaadhil</i>	‘earth’ + ‘?’	‘message bird, grave digger bird’
<i>dhayn-dalmuu</i>	‘man’ + ?	‘messenger’
<i>dhii-garril</i>	‘tea’ + ‘leaf’	‘tea’
<i>dhina-garral</i>	‘foot’ + ‘cutter’	‘poison’
<i>dhuyu-burrul</i>	‘snake’ + ‘big’	a name
<i>dhuyu-garral</i>	‘snake’ + ‘cut?’	‘earthworm’
<i>gali-n-djurri</i>	‘water’ + ‘?’	honey and water (a medicine)
<i>gali-gurraynaa</i>	‘water’ + ‘?’	‘affinity with water’ or ‘water seeker’; name of a spirit
<i>gami-djina</i>	‘?’ + ‘foot’	‘surveyor’
<i>giinbay-warraymal</i>	‘mussel’ + ‘bringer’	‘seagull’
<i>gindjul-garra</i>	‘slime’ + ‘crack?’	‘snail’
<i>giniy-waal</i>	‘stick’ + ‘not’	‘dead timber’
<i>gumba-djina</i>	‘superhard, flint (like)’ + ‘foot’	a nickname ‘hardfoot’ = ‘good walker, wide roamer’
<i>gumbul-gaban</i>	‘buttocks’ + ‘light (not heavy)’	‘plains turkey’
<i>gungan-dhi</i>	‘water’ + ‘meat’	a name
<i>gunii-buu</i>	‘mum’ + ‘testicles’	‘robin redbreast’ (a bird)
<i>guwaay-djiidjii</i>	‘say-Past’ + ‘djii-djii’	‘butcher bird’
<i>guway-galiyarr</i>	‘blood’ + ‘climb?’	‘blood group, light’ (a social division)
<i>guway-madhan</i>	‘blood’ + ‘heavy’	‘blood group, dark’ (a social division)
<i>maa-wulaadaanga</i>	‘hand’ + ‘?tier’	‘policeman’
<i>manggi-warraywarraymal</i>	‘mussel’ + ‘bringer’	‘seagull’

<i>mil-warra</i>	‘eye’ + ‘standing’	‘sore eye’, i.e. eye swollen up
<i>mirri-ngamu</i>	‘dog’ + ‘breast’	‘jagged spear’
<i>mirri-wula</i>	‘dog’ + ‘?’	name of a legendary dog
<i>mirri-gana</i>	‘dog’ + ‘?’	home of the legendary dog, <i>mirriwula</i>
<i>munjin.gagaagal</i>	‘mosquito’ + ‘caller’	‘cuckoo’ (a bird)
<i>murru-manamanaa</i>	‘buttocks’ + ‘shake?’	‘dragonfly’
<i>wii-warra</i>	‘fire’ + ‘standing’	place name
<i>wii-wambin</i>	‘fire’ + ‘breastplate’	‘red browed pardalote’; refers to the yellow spot on the bird’s chest;
<i>wii-nhii</i>	‘fire’ + ‘charcoal’	‘coals’
<i>wuyu-buluuy</i>	‘throat’ + ‘black’	‘black snake’ (cf <i>dhuyu</i> – ‘snake’)
<i>yaay-ngarraldaanga</i>	‘sun’ + ‘watcher’	‘a watch, a clock’
<i>yaay-ngarralgaa</i>	‘sun’ + ‘watcher’	‘a watch, a clock’
<i>yiya-gungawuma</i>	‘tooth’ + ‘?’	‘large hailstone’
<i>dhuni-gaari-nyi</i>	‘sun’ + ‘went down’	‘sunset, sundown’
<i>dhuni-djurra-y</i>	‘sun’ + ‘came’	‘sunrise’

It is not certain if *dhuni-gaarinyi* and *dhuni-djurray* are nouns or phrases.

The following compounds all include *ngulu(u)* – ‘face, forehead’

<i>nguluu-wawul</i>	‘forehead’ + ‘narrow’	Eng. Nullawa - place name; a river point
<i>nguluu-manbuu</i>	‘face’ + ‘flat’	‘flat headed gudgeon’, a fish
<i>yaaybaa-nguluu</i>	‘sun-locative’ + ‘face’	‘summer’; also <i>yaaybaa</i> – ‘summer’
<i>dhandarraa-nguluu</i>	‘frost-locative’ + ‘face’	‘winter’; also <i>dhandarraa</i> – ‘winter’
<i>munggu-ngulu</i>	‘wide across’ + ‘face’	name of a waterhole on the Narran River below Nullawa
<i>ngulu-yuunduu</i>	‘face’ + ‘axe’	a mythical man whose upper face is an axe blade
<i>ngulu-gaayirr</i>	‘face’ + ‘?’	‘plaited net headband’

The following all include the syllable *dhun*. They may not all be examples of compounds including *dhun* – ‘tail, penis’ (or possibly *dhun* = ‘long, narrow thing’)

<i>dhun-barra</i>	‘tail’ + ‘split’	‘welcome swallow’ (a bird)
<i>dhun-barr</i>	‘tail’ + ‘?’	‘grass seed when ready for grinding’; ‘fairy grass’
<i>dhun.gayrra</i>	‘tail’ + ‘?’	‘chain lightning’
<i>dhun.gul</i>	‘tail’ + ‘?’	‘a vegetable’
<i>murru-n-dhun-mali</i>	‘backside?’ + ‘tail’ + ‘verbaliser?’	‘descending colon’
<i>dhun-midjirr</i>	‘tail’ + ‘umbrella bush?’	‘a native rat’

#### Possibly compounds

The structure of the following words is similar to that of other words which are clearly compound. However there is insufficient information about the components to be sure that the words are compounds.

<i>wirri-gaal</i>	‘dish’ + ‘?’;	‘navel’
<i>yulu-wirri</i>	‘fingernail?’ + ‘dish?’	‘rainbow’
<i>dhiil-guyin</i>	<i>dhiil</i> is a type of tree;	‘type of wild potato’;
<i>wili-dhuba</i>	‘?’ + ‘mother louse?’	‘pink eared duck’

<i>wili-gabuul</i>	‘?’ + ‘ <i>dhuba-y</i> - ‘to point’’	‘pink eared duck’
<i>gugumadharraa</i>		‘land yam’
<i>ngarraadhaan</i>	cf <i>ngarra-li</i> – ‘see’, <i>dhaan</i> – ‘skilled at’	‘bat’
<i>binadhi-yuubiyan</i>	‘ear + circumstantial’ + ‘thing that goes in’	‘slow worm’

Compound verbs / Possible Noun Incorporation; *mil* – ‘eye’

The following verbs are examples of the incorporation of a body part noun in a verb stem.

<i>ngami-li</i>	‘see’ + ‘eye’	‘see’
<i>wuumi-li</i> –	‘?go in’ + ‘eye’	‘peep’
<i>dhurraami-li</i>	‘?come’ + ‘eye’	‘wait’

## Appendix 2 - Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay reduplicated stems

The following is a list of many of the reduplications found in the GY corpus. Some other examples will be available in the database being compiled as part of the Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay Dictionary project. It is important to remember that there are likely to be errors in this list because of the nature of the GY source material. The '?' show words about which there are known questions. For many examples no unreduplicated root has been found. Reduplicated verbs are at the end of the list.

reduplicated form	gloss	unreduplicated form	gloss
<i>bagabagan</i>	'river bank'?	<i>baga</i>	'river bank'
<i>baganbagan</i>	'all stripes (e.g butchers apron)	<i>bagan</i>	'stripe'
<i>bagabaga</i>	'emu chick'	<i>bagan</i>	'stripe' (the emu chick is striped)
<i>balabalaa</i>	'butterfly' (general)	<i>balaa</i>	'white'
<i>barrabarraa</i>	'split open' (Adj)	<i>baarra-y</i>	'burst' intransitive
		<i>barra-li</i>	'sharpen' transitive
<i>barranbarraan</i>	'centipede'	<i>?barran</i>	'boomerang'
<i>biibabiiba</i>	'book'	<i>biiba</i>	'paper'
<i>bilabilaa</i>	'parallel'		
<i>binangarrangarraa</i>	'smart', 'clever', 'intelligent'	<i>bina</i> – 'ear'; <i>ngarra-li</i> – 'see'	
<i>binggawinggal</i> ,	'needle bush'		
<i>birraybirraay</i>	'Orion's belt', 'boys'	<i>birray</i>	'boy'
<i>bulilbulil</i>	'slippery'	<i>buli-y</i>	'slip'
<i>buunhubuunhu</i>	'long grass'	<i>buunhu</i>	'grass'
<i>buwabuwa/buwanbuwan</i>	'loose', 'rattling'		
<i>dhaandhaan</i>	'staggering', 'falling all over the place'	<i>dhaan</i>	'a lean'
<i>dhirradhirra</i>	'flash', 'showy', 'ostentatious'; Poss. 'always showing their teeth';	<i>dhirra</i> – 'tooth' in other languages	
<i>dhirrandhirran</i>	'trembling', 'shaking', 'vibrating'	<i>dhirra-y?</i>	'shake'
<i>dhunidjuni</i>	'jackywinter' (a bird)	<i>dhuni</i>	'tree gum'
<i>dhurradhurraa</i>	'untidy', 'confused', 'thrown about', 'all over the place'		
	<i>?dhurra-li</i>	'come'	
<i>dhurrundhurrun</i>	'hairy', 'furry'	<i>dhurrun</i>	'fur'
<i>dhuwindhuwi</i>	'sparks'		
<i>gadhaarrgahaarr</i>	'ragged'		
<i>gagan.gagan</i>	'all colours'		
<i>gamugamuu</i>	'blowfly', 'maggot'		
<i>ganayanay</i>	'supplejack', (a tree)	<i>?ganay</i>	'yamstick'
<i>garigari</i>	'scared', 'afraid'	<i>?gari</i>	'fear'
<i>garran.garraan</i>	'tight', 'solid', 'tuck tight', 'not budging'; Colloq. 'constipated'	<i>?garra-y</i>	'choke'
<i>garragarraandi</i>	'lizard' (lives in cracks)	<i>garra</i>	'crack'
<i>garrayarray</i>	'peach bush', 'wild peach'		
<i>gawarrawarr</i>	'green'		
<i>gayn.gayn</i>	'calmed, smoothed down, calmed down, soothed'; 'native lime'		



	(tree)		
<i>gidjiirrgidjiirr</i>	‘yellow’	<i>gayn</i>	‘rake’, ‘smooth’
<i>giidjuugiidjuu</i>	‘constant, ongoing, repetitious’	<i>gidjiirr</i>	‘gidgee tree’
		? <i>gii</i> + ?Erg/Inst	‘heart’
<i>girraan.girraa</i>	‘leaves’	<i>girraa</i> (rare word)	‘one leaf’
<i>giyalgiyal</i>	‘itchy’	? <i>giyal</i>	‘afraid’
<i>gulungguluu</i>	‘rotten’		
<i>gunagunaa</i>	‘brown’	<i>guna</i>	‘faeces’
<i>gunhugunhu</i>	‘a cold’		
<i>gurrugurru</i>	‘very deep’	<i>gurru</i>	‘hole’
<i>guwan.guwan</i>	‘foggy’	<i>guwa</i>	‘fog’, ‘mist’
<i>guwin.guwin</i>	‘misty’, ‘ghost-like appearance’, ‘greyish colour’	<i>guwin</i> - a ‘ghost like smoke or fog’, a ‘greyish apparition’	
<i>madhanmadhan</i>	‘weighty’, ‘too heavy’	<i>madhan-baa</i>	‘heavy’
<i>mamalmamal</i>	‘sticky’, ‘gluey’	<i>mama-li</i>	‘to stick’ transitive
<i>man.gaman.ga</i>	‘flat’		
<i>mandimandi</i>	‘spotted’	see <i>mundimundi</i>	
<i>mandimandi</i>	‘sequentially’, ‘one thing after another’	<i>mandi</i>	‘step, generation level’
<i>madhamadha</i>	‘rough’, ‘bumpy’, ‘uneven’, (of a road surface, etc)		
<i>milgumilgu</i>	‘alert, watchful’	<i>mil</i> + ?Erg/Inst	‘eye’
<i>minyaminya</i>	‘all’	<i>minya</i>	‘what?’
<i>minyaminyagaa</i>	‘everything’	<i>minyagaa</i>	‘something’
<i>miirrmiirr</i>	‘backwards’		
<i>miyay-miyaay</i>	‘girls’, ‘Seven Sisters’ (stars); ‘little girl’	<i>miyay</i>	‘girl’
<i>mulamula</i>	‘soft’	<i>mula</i>	‘a boil’
<i>mundimundi</i>	‘spotted’, ‘speckled’, ‘pocked’, ‘dotted’		
<i>nganangana</i>	‘floating’, ‘buoyant’		
<i>ngawilngawil, ngawingawi</i>	‘penny royal’, (a herb)		
<i>nhalganhalga</i>	‘cow horn’		
<i>nhimalnhimal</i>	‘spiteful’	<i>nhima-li</i>	‘pinch’
<i>nhirrinhirri</i>	‘back’	<i>nhirrin</i>	‘side’
<i>nhianhiya</i>	‘all the time’, ?‘everywhere’, ?‘all over the place’		
<i>nguwannguwan, Poss. nguwan</i>	‘tightly folded’, ‘wrapped up’	<i>nguwa</i>	
<i>warrawarra</i>	‘standing up’	<i>warra-y</i>	‘stand’ intransitive
<i>wayawaya YW</i>	‘crooked’	<i>waya</i>	‘left (hand)’
<i>warawara GM</i>	‘crooked’	<i>wara</i>	‘left (hand)’
<i>wulbuwulbu</i>	‘springy’, ‘flexible’	<i>wulbul, wulburr</i>	‘bendy stick’
<i>wuluwuluu</i>	‘noisy’	<i>wulul</i>	‘a noise’, ‘ducks flying’
<i>yaluyalu</i>	‘same’, ‘the same’, ‘equivalent’, ‘a copy of’, ‘duplicated’	<i>yalu</i>	‘again’
<i>yiiliyiilian</i>	‘angry person’	<i>yii-li</i>	‘bite’
<i>yiiliyiili</i>	‘peppery’, ‘hot tasting’	<i>yii-li</i>	‘bite’
		<i>yiilay/yiili</i>	‘savage’

verb reduplication

*banabanaga-y*

*ngarrangarra-li*

*warrawarra-y*

‘sort of run’

‘keep an eye on’

‘sort of stand’

*banaga-y*

*ngarra-li*

*warra-y*

‘run’

‘see, look’

‘stand’

### Appendix 3 – Gamilaraay - Yuwaalaraay borrowings from English

This is a list of GY words which are obvious or likely borrowings from English. The main sources are Giacon (1999), Sim (1999) and Uncle Ted Fields (p.c.). If the GY gloss and the English source word are the same the gloss is not given.

GY word	English source	GY gloss
<i>baadal</i>	'bottle'	
<i>baawuul</i>	'fowl'	
<i>baaybu</i>	'pipe, for smoking'	
<i>babuligaarr</i>	'public house'	'hotel'
<i>banigan</i>	'pannikin'	'cup' (Ted Fields)
<i>bigurr, bibirrgaa</i>	'pig'	
<i>biiba</i>	'paper'	
<i>biibabiiba</i>	<i>biiba</i> - 'paper'	'book'
<i>biibii?</i>	section of a ruminant's stomach, so-called 'paper gut', 'book' or 'bible gut'; from 'paper' or 'bible'	
<i>biginini</i>	'piccaninny'	'foal'
<i>biligiyan</i>	'billycan'	
<i>birridul</i>	'pistol'?	
<i>biyaga, biyagaa</i>	'tobacco'	
<i>budjigurr, burrgiyan</i>	'pussycat'	'cat'
<i>bulanggi, bulanggiin, bulaanggiin</i>	'blanket'	
<i>bulawa, bulaawaa</i>	'flour'	
<i>burara</i>	'bulrush' (possibly)	
<i>burraadal, burraaydal</i>	'bridle'	
<i>burramban, burraanbaan</i>	'frying pan'	
<i>dhaadal</i>	'saddle'	
<i>dhaamba</i>	'damper' - (bread)	
<i>dhagin, dhagi</i>	'stocking'	'socks'
<i>dharrawidil, dharrawurra, dharrawurru</i>		'trousers'; but cf <i>dharra</i> - 'thigh'
<i>dhawubu, dhuubu, dhuubu</i>	'soap'	
<i>dhimba</i>	? 'jumbuck'	'sheep'
<i>dhindiirr</i>	'tin dish'	
<i>dhiigarriil</i>	'tea' + <i>garriil</i> - 'leaf'	'tea'
<i>dhuga</i>	'sugar'	
<i>dhuwadi</i>	'shirt'	
<i>dhuudima-li</i>	'shoot'	
<i>gabaa, gaba</i>	possibly from 'government' and/or <i>banggabaa</i> - 'white'	'white person';
<i>gabirr</i>	'cabbage'	
<i>gandjibal, gadjuwal</i>	'constable'	'police'
<i>biliirrman</i>	'policeman'	'police'
<i>galuubaa</i>	'clover'	
<i>gambada</i>	'comforter'	'scarf'
<i>gigima-li / gigirrma-li</i>	'kick'	
<i>giyadal</i>	'cattle'	'bullock'

<i>guudii</i>	‘coat’	
<i>maadha</i>	‘master’	‘boss’
<i>midi</i>	‘mistress’	
<i>maadjirr</i>	‘matches’	
<i>marrgin</i>	‘?musket’	‘gun’
<i>milan</i>	‘melon’	
<i>milgin</i>	‘milk’	
<i>milambiyaay, milambaraay</i>	‘milk’ + ‘with’	‘cow’ (note two forms for ‘milk’)
<i>ngaaymbuwan, ngayimbuwan</i>	‘saucepan’	
<i>nhaaybu, nhaayba</i>	‘knife’	
<i>nhanigurr</i>	‘nannygoat’	‘goat’
<i>nhiiigiliirr</i>	‘necklace’	
<i>nhuubala</i>	‘new’ + <i>-bala</i>	‘new’ ( <i>-bala</i> - contrast clitic)
<i>pickima-li</i>	‘pick’ + <i>-ima-li</i>	‘pick’ (used by Jack Sands)
<i>wadjiin, wadjin</i>	‘?white gin’	‘white woman’
<i>waya</i>	‘wire’	
<i>wilbaarr</i>	‘?wheelbarrow’	‘cart, car’ ; any wheeled conveyance. Possibly not from ‘wheelbarrow’ since <i>wilbaarr</i> is also the name of a feared spirit which traveled in whirlwinds.
<i>yanggiidjaa</i>	‘handkerchief’;	
<i>yurabirr</i>	‘rabbit’	
<i>yurraamu, yuuraamu</i>	‘rum’	‘strong drink’

*yarraman, yaraaman, yarraamaan* - ‘horse’ are also post-European words but not a borrowing from English.